

The Peril of the Republic

Are We Facing Revolution
in the United States?

Daniel Chauncey Brewer

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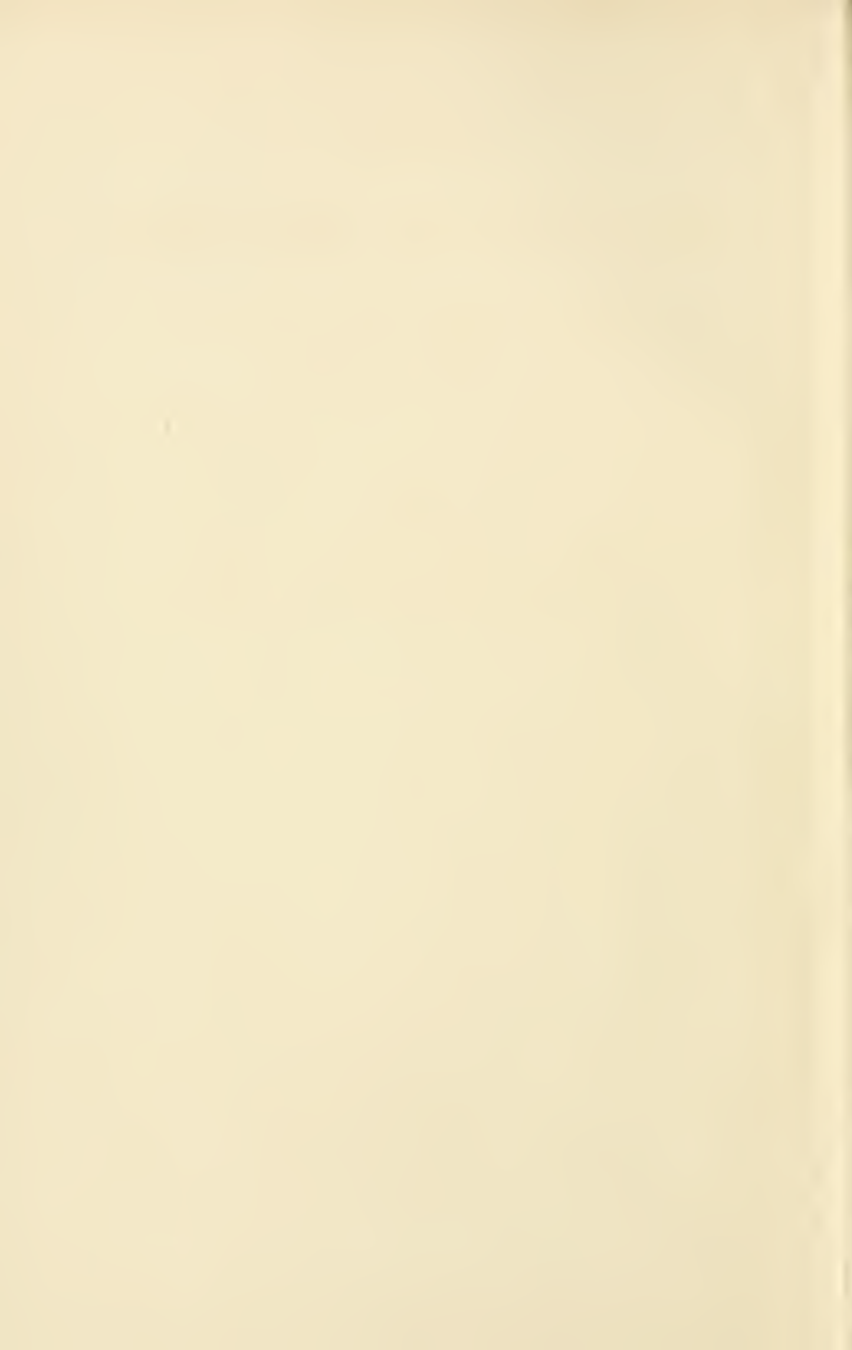
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The Peril of the Republic

Are We Facing Revolution in
the United States?

By

Daniel Chauncey Brewer

Author of "Rights and Duties of Neutrals"



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“Quo quidem tempore cum hauruspices ex tota Etruria convenissent, caedes atque incendia et legum interitum et bellum civile ac domesticum et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi di immortales, omni ratione placati, suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent.”

CICERO—III Cataline, Ch. VIII.

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CHAPTER I

THE DRIFT TOWARD POLITICAL REVOLUTION

THERE have been a few books written upon immigration to the United States and many upon the institutions of this country. I do not think that any books have been written for the purpose of showing how immigration is imperiling such of these institutions as are still functioning. This particular book is written with the sole purpose of pointing out that alien invasion has quickened the drift to political revolution. To those who think logically and do not dare to rely upon Providential interposition, this revolution is imminent.

We are a very great people in our own estimation and have had our vanity coddled and petted by the events that have followed the World War.

It is not improbable that our present greatness owes something to immigration, but it is absolutely certain that it is chiefly due to the men who framed

our institutions and the institutions themselves. It is also reasonably sure that if we are to continue really great—useful to ourselves and the nations—we must preserve these institutions and endeavor to preserve the spirit of the founders of these institutions who have gone to their reward.

How we are to do this I do not know, but it is possible that a way will be found. It needs faith for reason points the other way.

Thus, notwithstanding the fact that the founders of the Nation were individualists and that their Federal Constitution, drafted to safeguard individual institutions, is individualistic, a large proportion of the American people to-day are anti-individualists, and there is a movement constantly accelerating toward socialism with the left wing approaching communism.

Thus again while our national forebears found and asserted that their experiment in government necessitated acquaintance with fundamental principles and an interchange of opinion, we are victims of confusion caused by a babel of tongues and the introduction of as many strange doctrines as there are alien peoples in the land.

It is logical and reasonable therefore to presume that in these days of swift changes, with lax interest in political matters, and with confusion growing more confused, we will shortly substitute the shell of democracy for arbitrary socialism or something

worse, just as we have accepted the shell of democracy for what was once a real substance!

Does this mean that the situation is hopeless and that there is no ground for faith in a better future?

I am not willing to go so far, although I find no evidence of corrective action.

There are still those in the country who see the necessity of maintaining early standards, and there are many others who have endorsed so-called legislative reforms which negate the Constitution in the belief that this can be done without sacrifice.

These latter have wished to have the State compel the sort of sobriety and good conduct which insures thrift, but have not understood that government restraint suffocates liberty which has been our choicest possession and explains our extraordinary achievements as a Nation.

As humanitarians they covet much but they have not expected to barter a birthright therefor. On second thought they will recall the ancient word—"What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

If by some miracle these two classes can be brought to see how the gathering storm of alien prejudice is sure to sweep the standards of both before it in a common wreckage, they will stand *en garde*, and becoming a rallying center for those who are loyal to traditions, may stop what now promises to be a debacle.

It is with this thought in mind that I have collated the following facts and figures in an endeavor to provide matter that will justify action. These indicate world conditions which have their reactions in the United States; make clear the significance of alien invasion; and mark certain of the mistakes and heresies which enfeeble a nation which is facing an attempt to overthrow its government.

I believe that they will bring anyone who examines them seriously to the inexorable conclusion that the time is not far distant when the Federal Constitution will be scrapped unless those who are American at heart sense the situation and act as vigorously as when they threw themselves against the German advance.

It is not very probable that these facts and figures pregnant with prophecy as they are, will have wide circulation, but they may play a part with the work of others in causing someone who is potent in leadership to make fruitful inquiry and bring about that which will be akin to the miraculous.

Meantime whatever attention they may have I exceedingly desire that the position of the author shall not be misunderstood. While it looks very much to me as if Society in this country was on the edge of an extraordinary upheaval that may wreck democracy, I find nothing in the situation that suggests aid and comfort to the radical-minded.

Democracy may go under; the realization of whatever is good in the proposals of the uplift workers may be deferred; and chaos may be temporarily substituted for law; but when the smoke clears the worker for revolution will be found maimed or manacled in the wreckage of the institutions which he has destroyed.

This is the only good thing in the outlook. Unfortunately, however, the workings of human affairs which exact dreadful penalties upon evil and diseased minds, do not let those who have been too patient with license escape, and there is every reason to suppose that if an issue is forced, Society rushing to its own defense will provide for order while it gives little thought to liberty. This means government by one or the few, and the confining of progress to the path that one or a few minds may mark out.

In the face of such a possible catastrophe far more dreadful than the destruction of life and property, is there not occasion for Americans of widely diverse minds to get together and think out a way by which the vantage ground secured by the Nation may be stoutly held during this era of flux? It will be time enough to force political reforms when we are sure that we can retain the privileges and immunities which have been secured by past sacrifice.

CHAPTER II

WORLD FERMENT

HUMAN society has been frequently shaken up in such a way as to make it unrecognizable to those who have familiarized themselves with its conventions. That it should be so seems reasonable, if there is to be progress.

The fact that specially interests this generation is the present upheaval.

We know something of the great changes in human affairs that took place in antiquity and which have followed the wars and awakenings of modern times. We have either seen for ourselves, or heard from participants, of readjustments like those which pressed closely after the War for the Union. Now we are part and parcel of the mightiest of all revolutions, and have occasion not only to recall to mind the experiences of past generations, but to learn what we may of present conditions.

The former may be reviewed without discouragement. The latter fill us with dismay, and reasonably so because destructive elements appear to be dominant.

It is not difficult to face a great change in manners and methods, if it promises improvements. It requires both philosophy and religion to meet a future which threatens catastrophe and it is difficult to persuade ourselves that the people of former critical and beneficent eras may have been so blinded by strange experiences as to lose the significance of constructive forces.

We say as they said, "After us the deluge!"

We may be right where they were wrong!

Meantime it behooves us to inform ourselves in regard to world status, because this has a bearing upon society in the United States which would be involved in a common ruin—and again because of the compelling fact that we owe a duty to that portion of humanity which lives outside of our boundaries. This obligation may lead to intervention in the affairs of others; to cöoperation; or to abstention from that sort of participation in far-reaching councils which will endanger the widely accepted principles which underlie our Democracy. For the present it is proposed to roughly assemble some of the more striking situations which are demanding the attention of the race in order that we may primarily reach right conclusions as to the outlook for democracy, and incidentally that we may be in a better position to safeguard our political interests and define the policy that is to guide our International relations.

It will be generally admitted that one of the most

important developments of this era is the world awakening. For five or more centuries the white race has been rubbing its eyes and pulling itself together. Now the yellow, brown, and black peoples have been shocked out of their slumbers by the conflict of the Nations!

What wonder if, in an endeavor to make workable but unfashionable European thrones operate, they produce the spark which will fire the Globe!

It is only a few years since the present recluse, William of Germany, was writing hysterically about the yellow peril, and expecting the Orient to invade the Occident.

Who at that time dreamed that instead of providing defenses against such an incursion Europeans would shortly be engaged in arming the hordes of Central and Eastern Asia with a philosophy more destructive than the armies of Ghenis Khan. Yet that is precisely what they have been doing, and though they work swiftly they will find it hard to supply the demand for their product.

As with the Tartars and the Mongols so with the brown peoples of Southern and Western India and the blacks of Africa. Coincident with the grim adventures which suzerain nations have thrust upon them, has come a new interest in human relations that the Bolshevik is endeavoring to satisfy in his own peculiar way. Inasmuch as neither teacher nor pupil are lacking in enthusiasm we may

well look for developments of more than usual importance.

So much for the peoples which the geographers of a generation past denominated semi-civilized or barbarous. They may still be hurling spears for their daily food, or ignoring polite conventions. There is no reason why they should not participate in the division of human wealth, nor execute the will of a commune. They are in such numbers and so grotesque in custom and manners that the inquirer cannot hope to count or catalogue them but turns to Europe and the Americas to mark the reaction of the new era among races habituated, at least measurably so, to certain familiar usages.

Who will say that he shall find comfort in either quarter? Southern and Central America, the only parts of the Western continental hemisphere that may be regarded as foreign, remain inscrutable and may for the moment be dismissed as such.

The affairs of Europe which never appear to worse advantage than after one of the awakenings with which that continent has treated herself during the last century and a half, are in a far more chaotic condition than they have been for three centuries. This is Germany's real and official contribution to modern history. Beside it the murder of defenseless non-combatants and the destruction of human monuments are of small significance. Those incidents are matters of the past. The continuing fact of a chaotic Europe should be

expected to abide for some time to come, if we consult human experience.

One gets no adequate idea of what has happened across seas to those communities which have so long nourished the fires of civilization by reading the graphic accounts provided by trained journalists. These have to do with economic problems, human suffering and endless havoc!

Neither is much assistance to be secured by studying the popular histories of recent epochs in search of parallels. Such confusion in human relations will hardly be found prior to the era to which Leibnitz had recourse for precedents, when ministers of state were guided by custom, convenience, and State policy and International Law as such received scant recognition.

In that early time the political map of the Continent of Europe bore little resemblance to the one which has become familiar to students during the last half century. It was not unlike the tentative drafts for maps which are now reaching us, plotted with unfamiliar lines and bearing the names of unsuspected countries. Two things favor the earlier status. Province, duchy, and bishopric had recorded some aptness for continuity, and all were ruled over by personages who were in a position to compel the approval and endorsement of their subjects when they entered into compacts with other countries.

That cannot be said of European Ministers and

leaders in 1920. It is the people who are ruling, and the people hardly know what they want or how far they care to commit themselves. There is consequently little stability in either external or internal affairs. Granted that this is good and that the apparent confusion and loss of integrity may lead to happier policies and combinations—one cannot but feel that it may be necessary for Europe to sound greater depths before any abiding adjustment of boundaries can be made—and this all makes for present uncertainty. Inasmuch as the relations which the United States can wisely form with these peoples must be modified in each case by the apparent strength and popularity of the *de facto* government, it will remain for Americans not only to keep informed in regard to present boundary lines, but to be prepared for kaleidoscopic changes.

A brief résumé of conditions as they now exist will meantime be helpful. They will not be found to be such as bring encouragement. Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium with perhaps two or three minor states, have come through the war with little loss of prestige in circles which greatly desire a *rapprochement* between the nations and the application of high standards to practical politics. The European area which their peoples occupy covers but a modest fraction of the Continent and is almost negligible in comparison with the land surface of the globe. Of these Great

Britain, because of its sea power, its resources, and predominating influence in other continents, will for some time carry the greatest weight in world counsels. This is a fortunate fact for America because of common language traditions. Meantime we are embarrassed by the Empire's economic experiments and the Irish dilemma.

France is brave, high-minded, interested in preventing chicanery, but beset with so many problems which affect her alone and so vitally—that she can hardly avoid subordinating a common cause to her own necessity. What is true of France is much more evident in the matter of Italy and Belgium.

There is nothing in Europe outside of the four countries thus characterized to which an advocate of International Law as it existed prior to the recent conflict, can look for support. This means that the isolation of the United States as far as she craves to further ameliorate the horrors of war or set her face toward ultimate peace, is almost complete. It means also that the great Democracy may expect to find serious difficulties in getting sustained and responsible support for any of its views regarding international policy.

The statement is made advisedly, and with Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Spain, Greece, and Switzerland, the European neutrals of recent years, in mind. These countries by withholding their assistance in a war for the integrity

of law, and for humanity have accepted the rôle which the Great Powers at one time assigned to such neutralized states as Switzerland and Belgium. The latter nations were supposed to be relieved of all sense of honor or responsibility and without capacity to intervene in affairs which might become of international import. Brave little Belgium refused to play the part but Switzerland has been acquiescent and, because of her aloofness at a time which tried men's souls, may well serve as a model for these modern neutrals. For the present it will be foolhardy for any self-respecting nation to consider the participation of the governments of such countries in any world convention that is of any value. They have shown themselves to be unwilling to risk anything for the maintenance of international standards of morality.

There remain Russia whose throes of torment yet shake the Globe, Turkey the arch-mistress of Deceit, or what is left of it, and the experiments in nationality which have been cut out of Austria-Hungary and Russia. Certain of these are vicious. Others are worthy, but rent by dissension and may change their complexion any moment. Taken together they present more of a menace to any world peace than did the Balkan coterie which kept Europe on the *qui vive* from the period of the Berlin Convention until August, 1914. The fact that they include magnanimous and high-spirited peoples has no bearing on the matter unless to

further involve it. It is of far more import that these groups are quarrelling with each other and lack stability within themselves—that Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Ukrania, Hungary, Bulgaria, would make different assignments of territory than those adopted by the World Convention—and that Croatia, Albania, and other integral parts of newly formed states have national aspirations of their own.

Such then is the word which comes back to anxious people in the United States who wish to know more concerning world conditions. There is not much in it that is reassuring! For the present it may seem to some that this nation is firmly established upon rock foundation. It may be that it is!—but there are none to guarantee this, and the peril is so extraordinary that prudent minds will desire to provide further buttressing.

It may be that it is not! The foundations are not what they were in the past, but have shifted with time and have been shaken by internal convulsions. How can they be expected to abide in a day when the nations are being sifted?

Society in this country is bound to have its own reactions when humanity as a whole is stirring with new impulse. Will the Republic survive the spasm?

CHAPTER III

HOW ABOUT DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES?

BELIEF that world conditions, which are bad, must directly affect society in each political sovereignty, will lead American citizens to inquire regarding the internal status of the United States.

If human institutions outside of the United States are in a state of flux—how about these institutions in the United States? How about American Democracy?

A casual investigation is sufficient. No one who honestly takes note of existing conditions can exclude from his consideration facts which are important. These invite, if they do not compel, conclusions that are depressing. The inquirer, whatever his pride in the achievements of the past, or in the nation's glorious resources of energy, must find that, as in all decadent civilizations, the cynic is keeping step with the forceful autocrat, and that political forms take the place of what were once political facts. He is driven to conclude that democratic institutions are seriously undermined.

It is proposed in this chapter to make cursory reference to certain of the extraordinary changes

which have transpired in this country since the enunciation of the basic truths of democracy. It will then be possible to discuss in the pages that follow such aspects of the present status as appear to be worthy of further consideration without losing sight of general conditions.

In the beginnings of the Nation that form of democracy which is designated a republic was accepted by our forbears as the only form of government which could safeguard the individual and society.

Up to the present time no other political system has done more for humanity, no other is now offered which appeals to the leaders of modern thought and action.

It would therefore appear that not only democracy itself but organized society has a large task in providing for the perpetuity of principles that Americans have been taught to revere.

That these are now threatened—seriously threatened—will appear to any reader who accepts as fact the matter which is brought to his attention in these pages, and which has been collated for the purpose of stimulating corrective action.

If this is not taken, and shortly, it is the writer's belief that representative democracy as a system is doomed, and that government by the few, or socialism, which is stagnation and death, are inevitable. He has the courage to believe that

democracy is as well fitted for the twentieth century as for the generation that enunciated its fundamental requirements, but he is convinced that it cannot continue to exist unless the mischievous abuses of the hour are corrected, or rendered innocuous.

What are the transmutations which have affected our people, and what are the perils which require the attention of patriots and lovers of social order, if the Republic is to live?

Without any attempt at orderly classification I am going to number a few of these transmutations:

I. Changes which have affected the personnel of the Nation and which will occur to the most casual observer.

A hundred years ago we were a homogeneous people, with specific standards. Fifty years later, as was aptly noted by James Russell Lowell, we were drifting toward heterogeneity. To Lowell that meant evil. To-day we are heterogeneous in race and standards, besides being broken up into classes. This will largely be explained by immigration, but not altogether. With the highest intent, we have followed the scriptural injunction to multiply and possess the earth. From a handful of mortals experimenting with the miasmas of Virginia tide rivers and the seaworn ledges of New England, we have become a populous nation occupying the greater part of North America.

Concurrent with the western movement the

pioneer has passed through a gamut of modifications. As a result the original Anglo-Saxon has developed a hundred new types and conglomerate species continue to add novel sorts to a catalogue of racial characteristics. In the Revolutionary period the thirteen colonies were composed of Anglo-Saxons who had already exhibited certain differences because of environment, and other Europeans. To-day the population of the United States is made up of bodies of Anglo-Saxons which have little affinity for each other—groups which had their recent origin in continents of the Eastern Hemisphere—and hybrid aggregations which are anomalous in appearance and thinking.

More or less informed in regard to the origin of the American people and their declaratory principles as expressed by the Federal Constitution, these strangely differing racial combinations are chiefly united in ignoring the fundamentals of political freedom, and fostering habits and promoting policies which threaten their dearest interests. They have swung away from the study of political principles which engrossed the attention of colonists struggling for freedom and desirous of making their conquest abiding, to the consideration of trade and purely domestic matters. Instead of using propaganda for the legitimate purpose of bulwarking their own institutions, they have not only done nothing to protect themselves against drives in behalf of political heresies, but

have greeted such with a degree of maudlin delight which is amazing.

Democracy without education and virtue is unthinkable. Conscious of this they fool themselves with elaborate organization to promote virtue and education that has nothing in common with real virtue or real education. This serves no other purpose than to mark degeneracy. They delight in bigness—refuse to respect the limitations of democracy—substitute book-learning for commonsense—and crucify the judgment which made them independent as a nation and as individuals.

2. Changes which place this generation in an environment quite dissimilar from the one familiar to their forbears.

Reference has been made to the development of types which followed the national movement westward. Quite apart from this result which exhibits itself in sectional differences, is the effect wrought upon the Nation as a whole by the enormous expansion of its borders. When the thirteen colonies became a sovereign state their inhabitants either faced or were in the near vicinity of the Atlantic Ocean.

Representing different racial stocks as they did to a degree, they were yet under the same control and wrestled with the same problems which were largely agricultural or those of a seafaring people. Therefore whether they raised corn and tobacco, or sailed the seas, they found a common interest

in their occupation and gave expression to their thoughts in public measures more or less identical.

Nothing but a fairy myth with a dominant magician, or the historic tale of the epochal rush of semi-barbaric conquerors, can parallel the plain story of the American people as they broke through the Appalachians which like a magic circle bound them to conformity, and tirelessly followed the pioneer west and south.

To the children of these builders of empire the story is a miracle. To the contemporary of axeman and argonaut it was a marvelous adventure.

There are those living who heard Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana spoken of as a deal in moonshine—while men of fifty remember when Omaha was a fort rather than a city.

We have taken note of the conquest of a continent and speak of it boastfully, but we have given little attention to the reactions wrought upon the people as a whole. These have been marked! Psychologically they have awakened an imperious spirit which is accustomed to success. Practically they have necessitated a habit of compromise, and a modification of political statement to meet the ambition of dwellers in prairie, mountain, and desert. The American of the day, therefore, whatever his stock, his manner of speech, his appearance, or his vocation, has not only gone through with an extraordinary intellectual experience, but shares with others the rule over an inhabited territory

vastly greater than that which was governed by the founders of the Republic. In the formative days of his political experiment the citizen of the United States had to do with tens of thousands—to-day his task lies with tens of millions. In 1810 there was opportunity for conference with one's fellows or at one's clubs and to find a medium for group expression. To-day it is impossible. Shades of thought are as numerous as the coteries that give them birth, and these are without number. Those survive which are pushed by the most adroit manipulator, the others vanquish each other.

Was it difficult in 1790 for the new democracy to secure any sort of unanimity when the people to be affected were but few and physical problems more or less identical? If so, and a glance at MacMasters or any other historian of that period will allow but one conclusion—it must be conceded that the difficulties which the more seasoned republic has to face to-day have been multiplied a hundredfold with the increased population and the extension of territory. These factors, which make it difficult for a free people to provide machinery that will function, by no means exhaust the catalogue of threatening dilemmas which arise from innovations that affect environment.

A hundred years ago we walked, rode, or traveled by stagecoach and communicated with one another by word of mouth or slowly traveling letter.

To-day we have eliminated distance by the utilization of natural forces and talk with friends across the continent. To some it has appeared that these facts make for consolidation. They do not! To be sure intercommunication is practicable when it was impossible before, but facilities for bringing people into touch with each other are unfortunately not used in any great degree by those who ought to take advantage of them to secure information. They rather become avenues through which a powerful man or an all important clique can reach the ears of possible constituents and secure their adhesion to programs that too frequently are misunderstood.

This is not helpful to democracy. Neither are modifications in environment brought about by industrialism and methods of living. There used to be a time for work, a time for play, a time for social conference, and a time for discussion of issues that interested all.

We still work and we still play, but our work is of the machine sort which does little to encourage pride or self-confidence, and our play consists in herding together and watching others play under the spotlight of the theater or before the so-called bleachers. We, that is the majority of us, no longer call at each other's homes or meet each other at church or in the town-meeting, and we no longer discuss issues, although we listen to each other. All this is bad for democracy.

3. Changes in objective. The people of the colonies were as keen to improve their physical well-being as are Americans to-day. Human nature is fairly constant in its desire to acquire property or improve its position. Thus the colonial agriculturists or traders were as shrewdly conscious of business opportunity as are their commercialized progeny of modern times. The difference between Americans of the past and present lies in the colonist's keen appreciation of the fact that he could not better his condition as opportunity offered unless he enjoyed freedom—and the lack of this perception which characterizes the contemporary business man. The former sacrificed much to secure the liberty he did not possess. The latter, possessing liberty, does not realize that it may readily be lost.

Before the Revolution and during the first period of the national life ambitious men in North America were thwarted and embarrassed by the policies of succeeding British ministers. Youth was born into the depressing atmosphere of an over-lordship—manhood felt itself dwarfed and cramped by an espionage that created irritation—and age mused over ways and means to throw off the yoke. There was consequently one objective—and that, Freedom, its acquirement and buttressed possession.

Again—because of the wide areas of unsettled country which opened unlimited opportunity to

all, and because of the need for stimulating rather than repressing the activities of one's neighbors—it rightly appeared to these generations that Liberty was threatened from without.

They knew their objective therefore and the lines along which it was to be directed. We know how well and forcefully they translated their information and convictions into action. They secured a reward for their endeavor that brought blessing for themselves and their children's children.

It has been quite different with the descendants of the men who drafted the Constitution of the United States. Since the battle of New Orleans the objective of the nation has been along commercial lines. The open river valleys, the prairies, and the plains beckoned to the agriculturist and stockman, and the mountains and forests compelled the attention of the miner and woodsman. All this was as it should have been and nothing but profit would have followed if the pioneer and settler had continued to bear in mind the political truths which underlay their achievements. This they did not do. Theirs was a far look but not a broad one. They saw visions and dreamed dreams without giving much attention to the cost of acquirement or maintenance. Increasing wealth provided the wherewithal for experiment, and daring exploits stimulated invention.

Possessed of all that was patent and obvious in

their inheritance, they commenced to exploit its latent resources which still appeared to be boundless. This led to the building of mills, of smelters, of foundries, and factories; the working out of transportations and credit systems, and such a mad materialistic whirl as commanded the best energies of the best men. It was a marvelous movement, and for a time a logical one—only one thing explained it. The possession of Freedom.

The period in our national life that knew Andrew Jackson, Lewis and Clark, Astor, the Lawrences, and Commodore Vanderbilt, was no longer shackled. It was free from outside interference and was as yet without interior political problems or restraints. Its objective was gold and the position and comfort that gold gives. It grappled for all of this commodity that it could get, and finding that it was unable to gather all that was available without the help of others, encouraged Ireland and Germany to send immigrants who would farm out their help. Meantime it nourished slavery in its own bosom, and stirred by the opening of California and the defeat of Mexico, gave an impetus to corporate control of basic supplies and manufactured product that was hardly consonant with the theories upon which its good fortune had been builded.

Then came the Civil War which for a time sobered men's minds, while it exacted an awful penalty for breach of recognized principles. While the

dreadful experience of fratricidal strife rebuked ambition and encouraged self-examination, it also trained thousands of young men for executive service and stimulated the thirst for accomplishment. As a result the last state of the nation became worse than the first, and the great drive was opened which has made us the richest people that the globe has ever seen.

If wealth connoted happiness or satisfied human longing, all would be well. Unfortunately it does not, and unfortunately again it encourages that mad thirst for more wealth that leads to despotism and negatives freedom. We are opening our eyes to this because it is forced upon us by the cumulative evidence of our senses, by the snarl of the proletariat, by disloyal grouping of factions, and the concentration of power.

Man in society is slow to philosophize until driven to it. Then if he is reasonably intelligent, he will see patent absurdities.

Increasing disaffection in the United States will ultimately require cerebration. When we have discovered that the end to which all our energies are directed is antagonistic to every principle which binds us together as a body politic—viz.—that unrestrained commercialism murders Freedom, and enthrones Tyranny—we will try to readjust ourselves. Probably when it is too late. Man is far more potent when he releases forces than when he tries to hold them in check. Mean-

time it is none too early to advance the proposition that just as the ultimate objective of every enthralled people should be Freedom, so the ultimate objective of a free democracy should be the retention of liberties once secured.

In an earlier paragraph I have called attention to the fact that the organizers of democracy in the United States appreciated the fact that their freedom was curtailed because of outside interference, and knew the lines along which their effort to secure liberty was to be directed.

It must be obvious by this time to every informed citizen of the country that if our free institutions come tumbling down about our ears, it will not be because of outside activities but primarily, if not entirely, because of mischief brewing within. Knowing this, there should be no difficulty in planning a corrective campaign, not against an outside foe like the one that endeavored to strangle our forefathers—but against the interior perils which threaten our lives, our liberties, and our property. Meanwhile there will be no use in launching such a campaign unless it absorbs our chief endeavor.

There is no danger that such concentration will interfere with the honorable and profitable use of our commercial genius. Even the shortsighted will acknowledge that it is better economics to bulwark the foundations upon which industry rests than to commercially commit suicide.

In discussing forces or conditions that have wrought modifications in the American democracy I have thus taken up seriatim changes brought about by personnel, environment, and objective in a very broad, but I hope suggestive way. The purposes of this chapter will be realized if I now briefly catalogue enough of the more particular changes in the relations which Americans bear to themselves to justify the insistent call for action which I am making. Certain of these might have been considered under the heads already noted, but are of sufficient importance to require reference. Some of them will be treated more particularly hereafter.

GENERAL CHANGES

If education in a democracy means such education in citizenship as affects the morale of a nation—it can be said that whereas we were once an educated people, we are such no longer. There has been an elaboration of system (which conscientious teachers have tried to adapt to the needs of the people, without much success), but it has served other purposes, and has been restricted to those who in many instances, because of deficient judgment, would have been better without it. Just how unfortunate this is will not appear until the reader informs himself by reference to illiteracy tables, or endeavors to explain the presence of advanced radicals in the faculties of our colleges

and the teaching forces of great municipalities. Is it not evident that illiteracy exists because of a lack of education, and that radicalism is on the increase because of wrong education?

Whatever the answer may be, it seems proper in this connection to call attention to the fact that we are not relying as much upon natural sanity and good judgment as in our golden period when everyone in the country read and discussed public measures. There is little question but that in those days a person born with a strong understanding and the faculty of distinguishing between right and wrong was accorded a hearing and secured a following. In these days public debate and discussion is very largely limited to the centers of metropolitan cities which are colonized by foreigners. The opinions of men and women of judgment, therefore, do not get the circulation that should be accorded them, and the crowd is inclined to listen to persons who have acquired academic titles and whose experience and judgment is not such as to fit them to plan wisely either for themselves or for others. One who listens to platform orators who control mob sentiment at present will not only appreciate the truth of this statement but will have an opportunity for noting one of the most alarming facts with which we have to do, and that is the creation of class antipathy. This, which caused little trouble to our ancestors, is now on the increase.

Just when we ceased to become a nation held together in a degree (however divergent its policies), by a common faith in underlying principles, it is impossible to state. Everyone knows the sharp difference of opinion which existed between the Federalists and the followers of Jefferson, and recognizes in the dislikes of earlier days the seeds of that discontent which has yearly widened the breach between men and women with vested interests and their less fortunate brethren.

Such differences, however, do not appear in the beginning to have taken on a more serious aspect than would properly be expected from the antagonism of political parties. It is true that friction between these groups led to unlawful action at times when particular issues were before the public, as in the days when the estates of the great patroons were broken up, but nothing resembling present cleavage between wealth and poverty made itself felt until a proletariat nurtured in Europe commenced to exert an evil influence on this side of the water. Since those days the gap has widened and deepened until it prevents intercourse. There is no crossing over the chasm.

What is certain in regard to the breach between the rich and the poor is alarmingly true in other instances. Labor exercises its sovereign will without regard to the representations of capital, and coteries of industrial chiefs, against the better sense of those employers of labor who are also men

of affairs, persist in policies which the best labor men find offensive. These relations have culminated in something akin to civil war. Again the farmer as such is viewing the banker askance—the employer, whether a capitalist or not, has little in common with his employee—and the speculative group, ever on the increase where wealth is piling up, appears to be directing its whole effort toward the sort of destructive criticism which irritates practical men because it undermines and destroys without contributing anything to the public welfare.

Democracy cannot flourish in a country where the drift of affairs produces feuds and jealousies rather than solidarity and harmony. Especially is this true in a case where the greatest change wrought in a free nation like the United States is brought about by the shift from concerns which are within the grasp of humanity to a bigness which is beyond the comprehension of its finite mind.

When a man is young it is second nature for him to aim at acquiring the things which appear good and to be close at hand. If he follows simple lines, he not infrequently attains his object.

Ambition leads him as he grows older to reach out into unknown fields and to venture into strange byways. As a consequence burdens and complexities accumulate—cross currents interfere with progress—and various entanglements require a departure from tried ways until, if he has not a

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masterful sense of direction, he becomes confused.

It is not otherwise with the people of the United States. In their beginnings there was simplicity. As they commenced to make history they adopted or permitted internal policies which have become so bewildering that there is no way out but by taking the back track.

Whatever other change has taken place among them since their first experience as a nation, they are utterly out of their depth as was illustrated before the Great War, and is now being abundantly demonstrated by the unconvincing and futile endeavors of statesmen and economists to handle major problems or to prognosticate the immediate future. Again and again we are told that remedial legislation will work out certain reforms only to find that its effect is exactly opposite to that which was aimed at; and again and again we are wrongly advised as to the future.

There is but one conclusion, and that need not be at all to the discredit of our public men. The times have changed—the Nation has changed—Life has become so hopelessly involved as to make it difficult for society, and especially a democracy, to order its own affairs.

Man has greatly aspired and thought of himself as a god. As a reward the Power behind all things has taken his dare and set him to grappling with infinities which have been graded in the awful im-

possibility of their magnitude so as to bear some proportion to the accomplishments of the several nations.

It seems as if this country would have enough to do, in order to pull itself back to safer ground, without having such other embarrassments as are coming to it in the form of war with the proletariat—socialism and like heresies—propaganda—and last of all and most important of all, the occupation of the land by an alien population.

CHAPTER IV

CHANGES IN PERSONNEL

IN the interests of Democracy I have in a cursory manner reviewed world conditions outside of the United States which are affecting, or promise to shortly affect, this people.

I have also made hasty reference to some of the actual problems which limit, or are about to limit, the liberties of the Nation.

The reader who is good enough to discuss with me in the following pages the imminent perils which impend, may advisedly bear in mind not only chaotic conditions within our borders, but the troubled status of the world.

In a confused and unfortunate manner public speakers frequently allude to immigrants entering the United States as definitely identified with the Europeans who colonized this part of the Western Hemisphere. The statement is so erroneous and crude that it is surprising that it should have misled anyone. Nevertheless it has done so, and as a consequence thousands of educated people are ill-advisedly wasting sentiment and drawing wrong

conclusions! This interferes with those who are earnestly endeavoring to do constructive work.

There is no question but that these coasts were colonized by people from various parts of Europe who, after the settlements had taken form and character and when the new nation was building up, were joined by millions of their fellows who crossed the seas to cast in their lot with the original pioneers.

It is also true that the first white people who faced the West in their search for freedom, and the later arrivals who helped them to conquer the wilderness, were immigrants. That is to say, they came into rather than went out of the country.

But these pioneers and settlers had little in common with the type of immigrant that has swarmed into the country during the last fifty years because of the undue activity of steamship agents, the graft of those desiring labor, or from a desire to take advantage for the time being of remunerative wages.

The founders of the nation, whether well-known or obscure, were animated by high purposes, either spoke the English language, or quickly made the latter their vehicle of communication, and recognized British Institutions as providing forms and precedents for the compacts or State papers which they framed.

Later immigration can only be referred to as a tidal wave of human ignorance, poverty, and bad

philosophy. The fact that it has borne in its currents groups of men of the finest genius, courage and ability, in no way affects the fairness of this characterization. These latter have already identified themselves with the American people and have brought to them graces and qualities with which they would otherwise have remained unfurnished. Curiously enough no group in the whole broad land is more alert to point out the exceeding great danger that is threatening the country because of unfortunate policies which now threaten to dispossess us of an exceedingly fair and beautiful heritage.

It is the bulk of recent immigration, above referred to as a tidal wave, which now requires the attention of the reader.

At the time the Constitution of the United States was framed there were in the thirteen colonies some three million people. In the year 1820 when immigration statistics were first collated under government supervision, the population was 9,638,453. In the following years—viz.—from 1820 to 1844—the Nation besides the natural increase coming to a vigorous people which drew sustenance from the land, received some 1,064,914 foreigners. These became quickly assimilated. Then as everyone knows came the great German and Irish immigration caused by the struggle for political recognition in Europe—and continuing until the period of the Civil War. This brought

millions of liberty-loving souls of Germanic and Celtic stock which were in more or less sympathy with the then population of the country.

The later immigration had no intention of returning across seas where in many cases it would have been greeted with dungeons or persecution. Its units came to share in the fortunes of the American people, to assist them in opening up their forests and mines, and to help in the development of their commerce.

Sometimes in racial groups, but more frequently as part and parcel of the pioneering English-speaking vanguard, it pressed through the river valleys, crossed the mountain ridges and settled the Middle West. Its representatives were found in long wagon trains which ventured into the passes of the Rocky Mountains, pushed through to the Golden Gate, or worked their way toward the Columbia River. All this immigration prior to the Civil War has become bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh.

For the most part immigration which has come to us since the war between the States and particularly since 1880, has been of an entirely different character, and justifies the characterization already given, viz., a tidal wave of ignorance, poverty, and bad philosophy. It is of this amazing body of aliens that I desire to speak.

As far as we know it is numerically greater than any other body of human beings which has ever

moved across the earth's surface in a like period of time. If we liken its incursion to that of an army, we must think graphically of men and women of revolutionary stock with such accessions as came into the country prior to 1860 (and which have been briefly referred to) as being practically overwhelmed by this awful inrush. Fortunately they have not all remained with us. These latter immigrants together with their natural increase, now in practical occupation of certain sections of the United States, far outnumber that part of the resident population of the defined area which is descended from those who established our free institutions, fought the war for the Union, and opened the whole land for settlement.

I have elsewhere endeavored to make some comparison between this incursion and the history-making movements of the Huns and Moguls, the Tartars and the droves of humanity that followed Alaric, Attila, Genghis Khan, and other forceful leaders. There is, however, no parallel unless it be in the personnel. The hordes that overturned the Roman Empire were numbered by hundreds of thousands. We have to do with millions and tens of millions! While the ancient swarms were preceded by armed forces, which now and then fought pitched battles, their real conquests lay in the manner in which they filtrated through and penetrated into the midst of peoples semi-decadent or too slothful to notice what was happening to them.

Unless I have drawn wrong deductions from my historical reading, the swarms of recent immigrants to America have come into a completer possession of the areas which they occupy than their predecessors were ever able to secure in a similar period.

In the interests of a broad differentiation I have specified the close of the Civil War as marking the time when the newer and less desirable immigration commenced. From 1866 to 1878 inclusive we received 3,834,949 aliens. The latter year showed a temporary falling-off. This phenomenon generally accompanies industrial depression. From 1879 to 1894 inclusive we received 7,747,039 aliens. Again there was a falling-off. From 1894 to 1914, the year when the war forced a suspension in immigration, we received 14,730,738 aliens. This makes a total of 26,312,726 persons who in something less than fifty years have sifted into a population which in 1860 was 31,443,320.

While in the interests of fairness it must be remembered that there has been a constant drift back to Europe, and that the bulk of the immigrants have been men, we must yet bear in mind that the classes to which these foreigners belong bear large families and increase far more rapidly than does that part of the population which is more refined. This explains why the census reports from decade to decade show an increasing ratio of foreign-born and foreign-parentage to native-born. It also provides us with ground for the

statements already made that when it comes to numbers the population of certain sections of the United States contains more persons of foreign blood, allegiance and interests than of native stock.

This is a situation which is intolerable. We claim that the United States is a democracy, and in the same breath assert that one of the fundamental requirements of democracy is free intercourse and exchange of opinion.

Either we are not a democracy in spite of our declarations, or else we are muddling along without a "fundamental requirement of democracy." Some will say one thing—some another. Meantime it will be difficult for anyone to find a country whose population is more widely divided in traditions, aspirations and leadership.

Let no one think that the above figures have been used in such a way as to exaggerate the peril, or to give an unreal conception of the situation. The times are too serious for any misuse of facts. Instead of coloring available data in such a way as to unduly magnify its importance, I prefer that readers should examine statistics for themselves and view with suspicion any matter which they cannot confirm. If I had been otherwise minded, I might have ventured the opinion that that part of the people of the United States who have received a common school education and who are descended from stock for two generations resident

in the country, are greatly outnumbered (I am not now speaking of districts but of the country as a whole), by sometime aliens naturalized but unworthy, by unassimilated persons, and illiterates.

Such conclusions, if offered for the purpose of argument, would have been based upon various facts among which are the following:

1. Naturalization up to the present time has been conducted with a total disregard of all reasonable requirements. There are thousands of people now holding the franchise who fail to square with the elementary requirements of citizenship.

2. In compiling the census data enumerators have utterly failed to secure any proper numbering of individuals of foreign-birth and foreign-parentage. Therefore statistics in regard to this group are to be taken with suspicion.

In making this statement I have in mind conditions in cities where welfare workers have not hesitated to remark that there were twice as many Italians or Poles in given districts as were accounted for in the returns. Anyone who knows the foreign section of our great cities will appreciate how probable this is. It is explained by the fact that great crowds of unskilled workmen (Europeans, etc.) herd together in boarding-houses and camps, shifting so frequently as to make it impossible to follow their movements or attach them to a domicile.

3. There are in the South alone, ten million negroes the larger part of whom are ignorant.

By taking these different elements into consideration with other official figures the inquirer may well make it appear that the unassimilated mass of persons in this country are out of touch with its institutions, and he may do this too without reckoning the crackers of Georgia, the mountain whites of North Carolina and similar contingents.

Such data is suggestive but may be left to others since a review of conditions in that part of the crowded portion of the United States which has chiefly attracted the so-called pilgrims for the last fifty years, appears to justify national action.

According to the census of 1910 there were in the district thus adverted to—(this includes sixteen States and nine outlying centers)—which will be more carefully examined later, 27,576,591 persons, foreign-born and mixed parentage.

Reference to the report of the immigration authorities for the years from 1910 to 1918 show that 4,379,636 persons entered these regions subsequently, so that we may reasonably conclude that at the time of the Armistice there was a grand total of 31,956,227 individuals in the area above referred to who had been born abroad or were the children of either a foreign-born father or foreign-born mother.

A comparison of the above figures with population statistics will show that the so-called foreign

population of the combined territory thus selected far outnumbers that of the native-born, and presents food for speculation for the following reasons.

These states and cities number among them the rallying places of wealth and industry. Setting aside the metropolis which provides the pulse for economic action, they include Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburg, and twenty other cities which dominate and control mighty industries.

They include Washington, the political center of the country—great ports like Boston, Portland, Providence, San Francisco, Galveston—and agricultural regions of marvelous fertility.

They include the mines, the ore fields, and the commerce of the Great Lakes.

And last but not least they include the great arteries of trade.

So important are these regions, and so well-known are their resources that no man of affairs, let alone a military man, would hesitate to refer to them in answering a question touching the areas which would be most attractive to the commander of an invading army.

It is true that he might make some minor changes in the above tabulation, but who doubts that he would include the Atlantic industrial seaboard, the Pacific seaboard, the line of the Rio Grande, the northern Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes. With these states and cities under control an enemy would absolutely dominate the

country. With half of them he would hold it in subjection. With a quarter of them well chosen he could safely initiate what would promise to be a victorious campaign, and with the occupation of a small but selected part of the area like the country within three hundred miles radius of New York City, he would have a better footing in the United States than the Germans ever secured in France.

This is assertion to be sure—not argument! I take it, however, that it is the sort of assertion that is accepted without attempt at rebuttal, and shall content myself with providing some of the data which is available regarding the personnel of the population of the states and cities in hand. It will be for the reader to decide whether the major part of this population or any important part thereof is inimical to the institutions of the United States or at all disposed to play into the hands of a foeman, and again whether this fact, if found to be true, is of importance in view of the suggestions already ventured upon.

THE CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION

Now that we have discussed the number of aliens and unassimilated persons in the United States, it behooves us to briefly consider the quality of these sometime strangers, leaving a more careful analysis for a later chapter.

Up to the year 1875 newcomers to the United

States contained a fair representation of the peoples resident in Northern Europe. Many were Celts and many were of Germanic origin, but the larger part had been in some sort of touch with enlightened governments.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw an astonishing change. Commencing with an exodus from the south of Italy and Austria, the tidal movement toward America drew heavily on Russia, and made itself felt in various parts of the Empire of Turkey and Persia.

When the war came we were receiving immigrants from the Central Plateaux of Asia, and indefatigable steamship agents with no interest in the United States were searching the mountain fastnesses of Armenia and Afghanistan for any sort of a customer who would help them to a commission.

Much of the material which these human scavengers scraped together and dug up for the digestion of America is of a character that excites pity rather than self-congratulation. It does not take much thinking to come to the conclusion that such accessions to our population are altogether undesirable. They include hundreds of thousands of peasants who have failed to make good at home, or are sick and ailing.

These persons through over-persuasion were induced to sell such property as they had in Europe or Asia and start for an earthly paradise in this country. Just before the war thousands of them

could at any time be found stranded in our ports without sufficient means to provide for their support.

The cutting off of immigration and the employment in war industries for a time has diverted public attention from these victims of greed, but if an exhaustive inquiry could be made, we would find that a fair proportion of such persons are accommodated in our public institutions, or give color to the vagabond flotsam and jetsam that drifts between our cities. Very few people, in spite of the fervid representations of platform orators, are inclined to think of such derelicts as in any way resembling the men and women who colonized the United States, or as having anything in common with the latter. They may better be compared to the unfortunate individual in the parable who was set upon by thieves and left to perish. Such cases call for our commiseration which may be the more heartfelt because the whole people of the United States are materially affected by the original fraud.

Notwithstanding this fact up to the present time the Nation has been blind to the injury done itself. Indeed it has encouraged it. This is confirmed by a pronouncement of the United States Supreme Court—(Mr. Justice McLean in 7 Howard, 401)—which in 1848 in commenting upon foreign immigration states that the latter was “a cherished policy of the government at the time the

Constitution was adopted," and adds—"As a branch of commerce, transportation of passengers has always given a profitable employment to our ships, and within a few years past has acquired an amount of tonnage nearly equal to that of imported merchandise."

What was recited to be government policies nearly seventy-five years ago by an eminent authority has remained true as far as regards the importation of immigrants. No administration seems to have cared sufficiently as to its character to revise the methods used in securing the shipments of human beings, and the one point that all administrations have had in mind has been the desirability of keeping the gates open and encouraging steamship lines which have taken in hand this sort of traffic.

The matter thus discussed brings home to us the fact that there are hundreds of thousands of persons among the great multitudes which have colonized the fairest part of our country who are both physically and mentally lacking in the qualities which have made Americans respected. But it is not permitted us to stop here. Otherwise we might draw the conclusions that things are not as bad as they actually are.

Let us now turn from consideration of that part of the incoming multitude which has been particularly under observation and which has been led to entrain for America through devious advices

and note certain truths regarding the whole body. These may be briefly treated under the following heads:

1. Political antecedents.
2. Language.
3. Racial characteristics.

Political Antecedents

Until quite recently the people of the United States have known exceedingly little about the countries of Eastern Europe. They have discussed Russia, they have known about the squabbles in the Balkan States, they have been acquainted in a missionary way with Turkey, and they have had a general impression that governments of these great areas were arbitrary and tyrannical. At the same time it never seemed to occur to them, although they have been informed in regard to the general spread of nihilism and anarchy, that persons emigrating from such countries to the United States would be slow to understand our institutions.

The facts are as follows:

Nearly all the people who have come to us recently acknowledge sires who for hundreds, if not thousands, of years have been subject to iron rule, if they were not bondmen. Here and there they have lived in communities which have enjoyed a certain amount of liberty. In these cases exactions for taxation, etc., have rendered them far from

happy. As a result their spirits are embittered by long continued suffering. It is a tradition with them that monarchs and governors are disposed to cruel requirements, and either lack a sense of mercy or fail to know anything of the sufferings of their subjects. They have been in accord in believing that those to whom they owed allegiance are responsible for their tribulations whether real or fancied. It has been born into their bone therefore to hate authority and to conspire against those in power. Evidences of this hatred were patent a thousand years ago in Southern Italy, in Austria, and in Russia. Since the period of Mazzini it has pushed organization to the limit, laid revolutionary wires, and started the fire which now consumes and threatens the whole world.

The persons under consideration came into New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Galveston with great rage in their hearts against authority. This is glossed over with certain sentimentalism in regard to the land of freedom which is only explained by the fact that they know nothing of freedom and imagine it to be an exalted sort of license. They are inoculated with Marxian philosophy, despise religion, are impatient of restraint, timid in the face of the police, although, like dogs that have been whipped, they dread the hand of a master. All this is perfectly natural and possibly tragic.

Such has been the political past of the multitude

whose hostile camps are now wide flung across the Republic. Children of misfortune (I speak of those who do not assimilate), they are, far less able to comprehend democracy with its balanced obligations and privileges than a desert nomad who enjoys freedom under tribal restraint.

I can conceive of a shipmaster so distraught with liquor as to invite a pirate crew to work his ship because they will accept a small wage, or solicit cholera victims for passengers at a remunerative head tax—but I cannot comprehend the action of a free people (however commercialized), which hazards the stability of its government for the sake of temporary gain, the real motive behind induced immigration.

Language

Montesquieu cites virtue and education as essential characteristics of a democracy. Shrewd prophet as he was he could not foresee conditions with which Americans have to do, and therefore left out intercommunication—a factor which I have no hesitation in declaring to be the fundamental necessity in a free Commonwealth. It is presumable that looking over the Europe of his time and reading the accounts of such voyagers in foreign parts as Marco Polo and his ilk, the French Philosopher came to the conclusion that the Almighty had effectually separated the peoples of the globe

when he dispersed the builders of the Tower of Babel. It is more probable that he never conceived of a situation so gravely distracting as that which confronts America. How could he? Up to his time and long after civilized peoples were jealous of their prestige and possessions. Rome, as long as it retained any national sense, granted citizenship to conquered peoples of various tongues, but maintained an iron grip on its own affairs, economic as well as political. Again and again feudal leaders or governments brought tribal aggregations, speaking different languages, under their sway, but always, as in the case of Charles the Fifth they retained the whip hand. That it was reasonable to suppose that men would continue to safeguard their own selfish interests is indicated by the policies of a few American employers who put profit before patriotism, and hold their foreign-speaking employees in a state of peonage. Meanwhile times have changed vastly. Men of Anglo-Saxon stock welcoming to their sides the free souls of every race, and building upon earlier foundations, made democracy practical, tried out and tested the rules laid down by Montesquieu—found them good—and then through lust for conquest and accumulation kicked over their noble creation—and in search of cheap labor brought about heterogeneous conditions that no healthy imagination of the seventeenth century could visualize. These conditions confront us to-day and force

upon our notice the primary truth that however essential virtue may be in a democracy, those who have these possessions cannot transmit them to others not trained in the same school or to posterity without a medium for intercourse.

Consideration of this fact in the light of our many tongued population ought to produce reflection and emergency action, for it both explains in part the present drift from old standards and points to an early snuffing out of a people's government in the United States.

Look at the map of New York City which is attached to the recent report of the Lusk Commission, and note the checkerboard effect produced by the flocking together of people speaking various tongues. A replica of this exists not only in the larger cities of the country but in thousands of towns—while Russian, Bohemian, Italian, Polish, and other foreign-language villages hold their own with English-speaking hamlets and community centers. The politician with Russian, Bohemian, Italian, Polish, etc., heelers can handle the people who dwell in these segregated colonies, but the statesman with an American soul and tongue cannot. They can be reached by the cunning propagandist and by the agents of foreign states to forward selfish aspirations, but they are out of communication with the better mind of the Nation, State and community. They are also out of touch with each other. In the "good old times" we had

vicious and difficult persons and cults to handle in America, but we talked "good United States" to these and either won them over or set the time for them to march by. To-day we are not overproud of some millions of degenerates who speak English, but we have no way of finding out about the vice that is hidden in great aggregations of people who use a different speech from our own, and no way of telling a very fair proportion of our whole population the things which it is for their interest and for our interest that they should know.

Pitiful, is it not?

a—A draft comes in war time.

The returns, because there is not right intercourse between the Provost Marshal General's agents and the draftees, include the names of hundreds of thousands of men who have been wrongly called or who have no understanding of the issue before the nations.

b—Mobilization commences. The officers cannot communicate with a fair percentage of their troops.

c—Innumerable strikes occur here, there, and everywhere. They would never transpire if the striker knew the real status. The employer has no way of reaching employees—they use other languages. The police, perhaps the military, is called out. The club and the musket are the only intelligible means of communication.

d—A great and serious exigency arises. Not a person in the country but is involved, but the ugly fact stares us in the face that it is in the last analysis an English-speaking issue. The Russians, Greeks, Poles, Lithuanians, Armenians, Italians, Bohemians, Slovaks, Hungarians, Portuguese, and people of sixty other tongues do not know it has arisen, or get the viewpoint of the padrone.

Such are some of the difficulties produced by the great American experiment in the composition of a hotchpot, which is a stew, and not the receptacle of which so much is spoken, viz.—a melting pot.

The cave man might have blushed at such conditions. He certainly would not have put out many ventures until he had found some gibberish with which to pass his thought to his contemporaries. That is where the cave man can bear comparison with the product of evolution. (I am permitted to speak about the cave man with some confidence because of the remarkable pictures which our scientific investigators and educators have given us of this biped.) Meantime I doubt if he, or any of his successors, had to do with such a problem as America has set for itself, viz., the impossible task of maintaining a free government in the midst of a population which is ignorant of the standards upon which the said government is based, and does not understand its requirements.

Racial

A great English Nobleman went on record recently as believing that the one requirement of the hour was a sense of racial characteristics. If I understand him rightly the most intelligent diplomats are failing, as they always have failed, to take into consideration those vital differences which distinguish varying species of the genus homo. These gentlemen study virtues, vices, aspirations, and motives of nations to which they are commissioned and yet fail to get beneath the surface, because they ignore racial whims and antipathies. The fact makes it difficult to secure concord in international matters, and frequently is the prime cause of war.

What is true of the shortcomings of ambassadors and legation chiefs is of course true of peoples and of the units that make up peoples who are without experience in international relations. When the master in an art fails, it is not surprising that the rank and file fail also. I comment upon this passing remark of a distinguished personage because it brings out two things—the separateness of the races—and the amazing manner in which they disregard each other's idiosyncrasies. Both facts are of much significance to America, because in becoming a haven for every people, it has collected a larger variety of races in many of its thickly settled sections than were ever brought together before, and is apt to be embarrassed if it cannot

learn how to make them join in the national chorus without punctuating their music with discords.

One would suppose that the English-speaking part of our people,—recalling the difficulty which the Southern slaveholder had in understanding the viewpoint of the Northern Abolitionist and vice versa, the antagonisms between those who because of interest favored or disapproved of a National Bank, and the strife between the friends and foes of the tariff—would realize the dilemma in which they are placed by this extraordinary experiment in racial agglomeration. If they do, I have found no sign of it. Meantime the coming to America is not going to cure the Englishman of his self-satisfaction—the Italian of his sensitiveness—the Celt of his mercurial qualities—the Russian peasant of his stolidity—the Swede of his selfishness—or the Hungarian of his volatile energy. Neither is the crossing of the seas going to eliminate the predilections which each racial group has for approaching every other group on the wrong side. The State may reel because of outward pressure or through a failure to understand and accommodate itself to economic law. Social questions affecting the welfare of each unit in the country may compel due consideration, and Liberty with its back to the wall may implore assistance. Nothing but Almighty Providence is going to do away with the racial jealousies which will make it difficult for the nation to mobilize its strength.

CHAPTER V

THE CITIZENRY

RECENT chapters have dealt with aliens in America. Let us now consider the citizenry of the country. That it is led by resourceful men whose achievements are marvelous in the field of commerce and service is generally acknowledged. So is the fact that it is loyal, capable of developing great power, and absorbed in trade or anything but its own future. Unfortunately, however, the present demands aggressive leaders of great political sagacity and citizens whose first thought is for the democracy.

I am disposed to say that the Republic has neither, but fearing lest this may seem an overstatement and unfair to some of our elder statesmen or to the many generous souls who share the apprehension of any honest investigator, I prefer to speak more prudently. This then is my assertion. The Republic does not appear to have enough virile leaders or enough informed and right-minded citizens to save it. This reflects despondency, but it is despondency that springs from logic.

Nothing but a miracle can turn the tide which is now pushing away from every democratic standard. Meantime I cannot forget that we have known miracles in our recent national life. Take the successful draft as an instance! Nothing in scriptural story which excites the ridicule of agnostics will compare with the successful mobilizing of an army containing many millions, out of the disloyal as well as the loyal, aliens as well as citizens, cowards as well as the brave, haters of country as well as patriots. If an overruling Providence could do that, he can do anything outside of the field of human reason or experience. Meantime it is for us to face things as they are, never overlooking the high-minded and finely bred men, sometimes of small means, sometimes of consecrated wealth, who know and perform their personal responsibilities. Their number is legion, but they are so much in the minority that their influence is lost.

This is what we find too commonly:

1. Abundant multi-millionaires whose pursuits are social or along business lines, but who rely upon their secretaries or the secretaries of their secretaries to tell them what their public obligations are, and to perform them. They may not err in a matter of etiquette even if their honest parents were more familiar with places in which unskilled but respectable labor congregates, than with drawing rooms. They may not miss a grand

scoop in four out of seven preposterously magnificent enterprises, but they are shamefully ignorant of things that every citizen *should know himself and do himself*.

2. Working the will of these men, or those of them that find their movements modified by police ordinances or legislative enactments are clouds of politicians. Some of these are corrupt or crooked—most of them are well-meaning—but nearly all of them are strangled with the machinery they have set up. With their followers they make a very large class. They are not uninformed as to history. On the stump they cut quite a figure. They can be relied upon to exalt the United States, to provide sounding perorations for a speech, to sacrifice much in a time when the nation is threatened; but very, very few have the time or capacity to sense the nation's peril in advance. They may be compared to a suppositious group of surveyors which runs its chains and takes its bearings on a glacier, in dismal ignorance of the fact that time and gravitation will junk its accomplishments.

3. Lastly there are the masses; exquisites from whom society will never disembarrass itself, and who are merely non-fertile flowers, who are rather inclined to patronize their fellows, but who are negligible; the bourgeois with its greed for trade; those who work with their hands; some patriots; men who speculate in political experiments; the ignorant; the virtuous; and a growing contingent

of miseries made up of the flotsam and jetsam of humanity's wreckage. The masses! Everywhere a hotchpot of everything which is stolid, erratic, and commonplace. Everywhere an ultimate and determining element in the political sphere!

Let us give them the attention they deserve in this country—for after all it is they who in sounding phrase pronounce themselves to be—"We the people of the United States." Therefore they will be the ones who are to decide whether they will be patronized by the very rich, controlled by a political or economic machine, directed by classes in their own personnel, or will themselves dictate national policies.

Over one hundred and thirty years ago they ordained and established a Constitution for the following purposes, viz., "To form a more perfect union, establish justice, assure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty."

Are these their objects now? I do not find that they are. Therefore I conclude, believing "that as a man thinks in his heart so is he"—that unless Americans secure new light or reaffirm old formulæ they will hardly be regarded in the next decade as constituting a democracy or the sort of a democracy which they hold themselves out to be.

What then are they? A body politic! Everyone will agree to that. What sort of a body politic?

That is more difficult. Classes among them (I shall have something to say of these hereafter) have widely varying opinions of what this Nation ought to be, if not as to what it is, and since they articulate the thought of millions, should have a hearing. Of these classes the sociologists, who regard the State as a panacea for every ill, may fairly claim that we are a socialistic entity in the course of evolution—they include in their ranks a great number of pedagogues, and have a particular hold upon the coming generation. Therefore their assertions, taken together with the obvious fact that socialistic machinery has been installed in many Federal and State departments, deserve careful consideration.

Opposed to them, and to everyone but themselves, is the labor group as represented by certain of its organizations. They are apparently for a government which shall be managed by labor men in such a way as to require from all persons who work with their hands a modicum of work and much emolument. They have power, but will probably modify their doctrine as it appears hopelessly exclusive.

No less selfish than these, but unorganized, are the reactionaries, who are faint with the struggle for self-government. As yet they have not found a voice which is apart from the platitudes of their chiefs who do not think of themselves as being reckoned among the masses, and who are always for a system

that will maintain order without interfering with the personal plans not of the people but of the elect. It will be recognized that this class is potent in affairs because of wealth and prestige, but of little consequence when it comes to numbers and votes. They share with the old style constitutionalists the credit of making much noise, but of being of little consequence when one is anxious to know what the people are saying—What God wills. If there were more of them we should have a plutocracy.

I refrain from commenting on the constitutionalists. It is enough to say that they are not in fashion when it comes to practical politics, and that while their aphorisms are listened to with patience and have become part of the vernacular, they are so utterly out of gear with modern sentiment and motives as to give the impression of archaic specimens, the fossilized remnant of forgotten periods.

There remain the proletariat—now masquerading as advocates of communism—the crushing out of the individual—the harsh rule of the State—and the weltering orgy of blood that must precede the elimination of God and the concept of God from human affairs. Fierce—lawless—vindictive—this class, ever growing in size and in impudence—second to none in giving itself expression—sometimes in the newspaper paragraphs, sometimes in the printed circular, sometimes in direct friction with the authorities, but always cunningly ap-

pealing to the disaffected—advertises its views and serves notice on the public that it is providing machinery—a too apparent fact—by which it may impose its will upon the community.

Here then are some of the notes which the American people are sounding through clearly defined classes. Each is supposed to reflect a theory of government, and does at least give a fairly definite impression regarding the faith of those responsible for it. Taken together they make a discord and little more at present.

Meantime there is a public outside these classes, the bourgeois before referred to, which is very large, very smug, very well-conditioned, but which does not think politically at all. Therefore it has nothing to say for itself along such lines. Morning, noon, and night this public thinks business. It goes to church—it attends political rallies—it amuses itself—but all the time it is working out commercial problems of the factory and the shop.

If any composite picture of the American people were possible, this public body of citizens which identifies itself with no class, would furnish the marked characteristics because of its size, the intensity of its absorption in that which has caught its attention, and its virility. It is needless to add that the picture would depict a commercial, not a political entity.

Mixed with the cliques in one great and amazing stew, the same public would be sure to flavor and

give a trade color to the whole. An appreciation of these facts by everyone explains why Americans are known in Occident and Orient as a commercial people. Some units in this business hotchpot talk anarchy, some the proletariat, some socialism, some autocracy—but all of them talk trade and dollars.

Shall we not conclude then in answer to a foregoing question that we are not only a body politic, but that we are a conglomerate body politic which aspires to burst the cerements of the chrysalis and become a body economic pure and simple.

What this latter conception is I doubt if anyone can state—

1. Because we cannot conceive of an organism for the production and distribution of wealth which would eliminate man; and

2. Because, if we recognize man as submitting to or directing government, we continue to have a body politic.

Perhaps it will be enough to say regarding our contemplated object as a nation, that “we don’t know where we are going but we are on the way,” with a cheerful feeling that when we arrive we shall find no politicians but much and cheerful industry. Meantime if we scrutinize our conglomerate body politic it will not develop much cause for contentment. There is the shell of democracy—the motions—the formulæ—and certain functioning of election machinery. The wheels spin when

wound up as they whirr about in a resurrected timepiece that long since retired from duty, but it is perfectly apparent to everyone that something vital has been discarded. In a democracy the people have political ideas which they assert and defend. If there are too many persons in the State to make it possible for individuals to get a hearing, then a representative government is installed as in the United States, and these representatives are supposed to reflect the will of the people in legislation and administration.

Now there has been an assertion of political ideas in the United States which fairly represented the people. That was long, long ago! It is to be doubted if the majority of living citizens are loyal to these ideas, if they know them. It would not be surprising to learn that some ten million at least were without any intelligible notion in regard to what they are, and ten million is quite a number when it is remembered that our actual body of citizens is only a fractional part of the population.

When it comes to representation, I am in doubt. Voting as I have seen it (perhaps it is inevitable where great concourses are concerned) is perfunctory and without significance. Representatives are elected, but if they are not the tools of cliques, it is because something is wrong with the elaborate political machinery that brings their merits to the attention of their fellow-citizens.

While there is not much therefore in this coun-

try to suggest democracy as popularly understood, there is a little. This modicum unfortunately appears to vanish when the so-called machinery of democracy attempts to function so as to express the will of the people. That is rarely given. Instead we have the voice of the welfare workers, as long as they keep step with the powers, the voice of the classes, and the voice of the rather silly but quite self-sufficient gentlemen who believe they are managing everything for us, and of whom hereafter.

It appears then we have a citizenry, somewhat divided, somewhat perplexed when it comes to the decision of great issues, and fearfully engrossed in the hoarding of much money. It also appears that this citizenry is organized into a body politic which resembles or once resembled a democracy, but which probably is not a democracy.

CHAPTER VI

INCENDIARY APPEAL

THE United States maintains an executive, an army, and legal machinery for the investigation of activities which threaten its life. The cities and towns of the various States are provided with officers and constables for ordinary police protection, and a few States have constabularies, none of which contain more than a few hundred men.

I do not know of any provision by which these corrective and protective forces can be co-ordinated and used to advantage in the beginnings of any revolutionary movement whether sectional or national. Therefore their value is problematical for any other purpose than the limited one in which they are at present functioning.

It is otherwise with the self-avowed enemy of the existing government—the so-called proletariat. Avowedly secret, and unfettered by such rules of honor as are recognized by society, the revolutionary group not only possesses an executive committee which concentrates upon one terrible object, but it is geared up with the great masses of those

whom it represents through numberless committees and sub-committees which are alert in transmitting its instructions.

On the side of ordered liberty there is a marked lack of solidarity; division of interests which creates internal jealousies and bad feeling; absorption in trade, and a thousand minor distractions; and in the place of machinery to work its will, various uninstalled parts, steering apparatus, engine, running gear—some of these highly perfected, but all unassembled, and of little more use than junk.

On the side of communism, which would assassinate freedom and progress—a defined purpose, concentration, passionate devotion to a cause, freedom from all moral restraint, and installed and co-ordinated machinery which is specially designed to meet the requirements of its problem.

I am making a somewhat bald statement of these facts in the hope that it will produce the sort of discussion that is the basis of reform.

There may be those who will doubt the propriety of frankly calling attention to our unpreparedness as a nation to forestall the machinations of those who conspire against its life. I do not think there are any who will deny that there are substantial bodies of persons dissatisfied with the political system under which we live and who are organized to destroy it.

To my mind the latter truth not only justifies a

citizen in calling attention to our national shortcomings, but compels such action. This explains the recording of the following fact. I have frequently sought in disturbed times, and on behalf of men of recognized ability, to secure such corrective action on the part of public officials as would prevent lawless demonstrations—but without effect. While it is true that these have never lacked sympathy and have never traversed my allegations, it is also true that they have never felt that it was for them, or the particular one of them to whom I addressed myself, to do any specific thing in the premises. There was a time when the nation was at war when it looked as if something, even if inadequate, would be done to modify an obvious peril, and when I was in a position for a little to help make some sort of temporary provision for this particular exigency, which could have been utilized by the Executive through the military authorities. Even then when German propaganda had the will and money to make internal trouble for the United States it was next to impossible to get the official ear, and impracticable to secure interdepartmental co-operation in the interest of internal order.

With this word of explanation for those who are critically inclined I am going to hazard the statement that no government can live that does not effectively provide for its own security. This is true of an autocracy and uncomfortably true of a

democracy. If the reader accepts the statement and finds on inquiry that I am correct in my allegation as to the inexcusable shiftlessness which our people have shown in matters regarding "the common defense," for which they associated themselves together, he will be driven to a disagreeable conclusion, viz., *the government of the United States as at present administered cannot live*. This is a hard saying but our fathers, who dodged issues just as we are evading them to-day, phrased similar ones for themselves or received them by way of warning.

Harriet Martineau in the early thirties told her contemporaries that they could not continue free and maintain slavery. Lincoln assured them that a state divided against itself could not stand, and Lowell, unconscious of the fact that the guns of Sumter were belching flame as he wrote, penned the words, "you cannot play at rebellion without having rebellion."

The pity of it is that each stinging assertion was only a recognition of what everyday people had been saying among themselves. Our fathers knew the drift just as we know the drift. For ten years now the country has been flooded with incendiary literature—I. W. W. manifestoes—anarchists' shrieks—and socialistic propaganda. Hard-headed and not unintelligent employers of labor are as familiar with such sheets as they are with their morning papers. The police weary with them but are saved

the temptation of regarding them as academic because of hundreds of occasions which have offered to use their clubs. The military know something of them but not much.

Some of those who are thus informed are political students—the majority are not—but all will agree that the outlook is bad, if not dangerous. The shortsighted say, “We can weather the storm when it comes”; the grim and callous admit “After us the deluge.” Just before the cloudburst lets loose its fury men turn up their coat collars. Then someone says the obvious thing—“It is going to rain.” No one is surprised, everyone knew it before and one who vocalizes the general thought is entitled to no credit, unless his voice strikes a note of appeal that gets people under shelter before they are drenched.

It is in the hope that someone will develop the unusual faculty of stirring people out of their day dreams, or getting politicians and executives to function so that they will know what matters and what does not matter, that I am going to comment upon one of the more recent Soviet proclamations which has come under my eye and which is impudently put into English type.

It purports to come from the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America, and because it is admirably adapted to inform all classes of the American people what persons in the population (let us hope they are

not citizens) are thinking, should have wide circulation.

This astonishing document, which is cleverly drawn by a trained hand, assumes that the workingmen of the country will be its audience. It thus opens by giving the impression to the enemies of society who encourage revolutionary talk that their number in some way approximates the number of those who work with their hands.

There is no way of recording just how deeply this insult, if it came to their attention, would be regretted by the legions of loyal workmen who themselves bore arms or who pushed stores and munitions to the battlefield during the Great War. As the agitators can hardly expect to convert good citizens they will undoubtedly arrange to pass high-minded workmen by when providing for the distribution of this incendiary literature. It better serves their purpose to bulwark their disloyal following by assumptions which will not be contradicted, than to engage in what to them would be an unprofitable discussion. We may take it for granted that the proclamation will be carefully placed!

Premising then that it is talking to if not for the workingmen of America, the Communist Committee calls attention to the following fact which approximates the truth or the enlargement of the truth, viz., that unemployment is on the increase in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, St.

Louis, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, and other cities; that from Maine to California and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf millions of workers are idle and their families are beginning to feel the pinch of hunger and cold (this of course is a lurid picture of a situation not nearly as distressing as suggested); that there is a great accumulation of wealth, but that factories and farmers cannot sell their products at a profit; and that as a consequence perishable goods are rotting and "workers are thrown out on the streets to starve and freeze" in the midst of "unparalleled plenty."

Here is certainly matter for consideration, especially when salient points are put in heavy types, and one is not surprised to find a query *as to the meaning* of all this, followed by an argument and an answer.

In the argument the reader is first reminded that he was recently informed by a "shrieking capitalist press" that recent discontent and the "Red Wave" that was sweeping the country was due to insufficient production, and with others was asked to speed up the production which has now "glutted the markets" and thrown him out of a job. He is then told that this does not mean that he and his fellows have produced too much, but that *commodities were produced for profit* (sale to foreign countries), and not primarily for us.

The explanation of the existing conditions (viz., unemployment and an impending industrial crisis

together with overstocked markets) lies in the fact that Europe is exhausted and cannot purchase and that financiers will not give that continent credit for fear that Soviet governments will repudiate debts—that other continents are too poor to buy and are seething with revolution—and that the rate of exchange has made the dollar abnormally dear.

With this brief word as to the causes of existing misery, the Soviet Committee points out:

1. That the American capitalist does not suffer, but that the workman and his family suffer—"you get kicked out of your jobs."

2. That the capitalist is deliberately using this opportunity to lower wages and destroy labor organizations.

3. That this is a critical moment for the working class of America; and that it is time to "fight and fight hard," replacing reactionary leaders controlling labor organizations and bringing the entire pressure of the ruling class to bear—"through the mass strike, the general strike, the political strike."

This industrial crisis [says the proclamation] is the beginning of the revolutionary movement that will eventually lead to the overthrow of the present capitalist system. American capital is beginning to break down. *You* workers must finish the job.

All you can get under capitalism is unemployment, starvation, high cost of living, dirty tenements or company owned shops, poverty, misery, disease, and

war. If you do not like that, and you go on strike or protest, you get policemen's clubs, injunctions, sheriffs, guns, soldiers, bayonets, machine guns, and martial law. If you do not like that you get deported or jail.

Very much like a war cry all this, is it not? With just the kind of insinuation to stir the dissatisfied and envious mind, and just enough of the reasonably critical to catch attention before sweeping to conclusions. But this is not all. With its appeal now well under way, the committee asserts as a recognized fact that during the last two years the courts, the police, the soldiers, the church, the labor leaders, and the government were on the side of capitalism in the longshoremen's strike, the coal strike, the steel strike, the "outlaw" railroad strike, the "outlaw" printers' strike, and makes this direct call for action:

The only way in which you can put an end to this profit system which keeps you in poverty, misery, and degradation, and gives all the good things of life to the rich, is to conquer political power for your class and make the working class the ruling class in society. You must first destroy the present capitalistic government and establish a workers' or Soviet government in its place by force—just as did the peasants and workers of Russia.

The time has come for the workers of America to consider the necessity of establishing a Soviet government in America.

I pause for a moment to comment on a matter that does not seem as yet to have sufficiently caught the attention of sage and thoughtful Americans to have brought out any special expression from them but which certainly is of prime importance. It is the apparent fact that a great group of individuals in the United States have substituted the word "capitalism" for the political system under which we live, and that representative men in the larger group, presumed to be loyal to the Constitution under which this political system exists, have fallen into the way of accepting the substitution in the forceful and logical answers which they make to the enemies of economic and political law.

It shall be for wise men to decide whether or not we are being led into a field of discussion which will ultimately blur the political sense of those of us who desire the perpetuity of the Republic.

But let us turn again to our proclamation which so frankly advocates a Soviet government. This now tells the reader that a workers' government would function for the working class, and be in control during the transition from capitalism to communism up to the time when private ownership of production and classes was abolished, when it would make way for a communist society just as Russia is slowly but effectively doing.

There you have it—Communism for democracy. This is what American workmen are presumed to

desire—this they are assured is what the suffering European worker is aiming at, and this is what the American and European worker is asked to believe is necessary if he is not to starve.

I propose now to quote direct from the peroration which follows the ingenuously worded statement that the American laboring class was led into the recent war on the ground that it was a struggle for humanity and social justice, and that the ruling class never intended to keep the promises made:

Workers of America. Don't let yourselves be fooled by capitalists' promises any more. You will only be betrayed again. There is only one way out of this misery, poverty, and exploitation—you must overthrow the present Capitalist government and establish a workers' or Soviet government of America.

Nor can you abolish the capitalist system by seizing the factories without at the same time seizing the political power. The workers of Italy have just gone through this experience and they have discovered that without political power—without State power the workers are bound to lose out.

The only way to overthrow the capitalist government is by means of mass action, demonstration, protests, mass strikes, general strikes, political strikes, and culminating finally in open collision with the capitalist state, armed insurrection and civil war.

It has seemed to me highly desirable that a general discussion of conditions in the United

States, to which the first chapters of this book are given, should cover suitable reference to the incendiary appeal which is reaching the people, with certain illustrative citations. The whole matter will have later and particular attention. In the meantime it is not improbable that the reader who finds it worthy of notice will desire further information in regard to perverse influences. Such can be secured from the report of the Attorney General of the United States which is being made public as this manuscript goes to press. According to the official statement, "Communist parties in this country have united to more effectively carry on propaganda, and the policy is to gain control of the labor organizations." So-called defense societies, "a camouflage for such movements as the United Communist party," are propagating and carrying on agitation in behalf of ultra radicals, and inconspicuous individuals apprehended are made to pose as martyrs by the use of propaganda. Four hundred and twenty-seven propagandists arrived in the United States during the last fiscal year (we ship in combustible material and then import the burning torches to set it aglow).

Of exceeding importance is a statement that indicates that the work of foreign propagandists is now particularly noticeable and that "it is impossible to accurately estimate the vast amount of money spent in the United States by foreign agents

engaged in exploiting the American people and in creating interest in the support of movements entirely foreign to the interests of the American people."

CHAPTER VII

LIMITATIONS OF DEMOCRACY

DEMOCRACY invites a cleavage of classes. Automatically with the removal of restraint comes self-assertion. The lax, the idle, the dull, and the superficial discontinue effort which was compelled by the taskmaster. The virile and ambitious find nothing to block their enterprise and leap into the places which they are fitted to fill. For a little time after the breaking of chains it seems as if society was bent on providing evidence for advocates of the survival of the fittest law. Then certain reactions set in. Self-assertion recoils upon itself and becomes indolence. Lax spirits breed more rapidly than the leading spirits. Thereafter the militant become the minority and the dawdlers become dictators because they outnumber their betters. This brings inexorable and inevitable mischief.

One does not make such statements without reluctance, but one hesitates not to make them if reason anticipates the discouraging succession of events that thwarts the friends of Freedom and

history provides ample evidence to justify reason's conclusions.

Turn and twist as we may to avoid facing the truth, democracy as thus far defined by political scientists carries within itself the seeds of its undoing.

The fact leaves those who believe there can be no progress without liberty—that life is not worth living without liberty—to accept one of two courses as offering a practical approach to assured freedom. The first is by the installation of machinery in a democracy which will correct natural tendencies, and the second by discarding democracy itself and substituting some untried form of government in its stead.

I shall have something to say hereafter in regard to the possibility of saving our particular Republic from becoming its own victim or of substituting some freedom-guarding system that will function. My present task is to call attention to the manner in which the units which comprise this democracy are dividing into hostile camps as we should reasonably expect them to if not effectively warned, and to show how the United States is moving with accelerated speed along lines followed by its political precursors.

The original and fundamental cleavage that separates the people of the United States is that which divides the rich from the poor, the prosperous from those who make no headway. It was

caused by the accumulation of wealth which automatically produces terrific reactions.

In the beginnings of the nation's life the rift was so negligible as to escape notice. It is now abysmal and will not be healed except by the sort of self-renunciation which can hardly be expected.

The American Revolution was a successful thrust for independence by a group of prosperous colonies. Its completion discovered an impoverished confederation groping toward nationality. Scattered along the seaboard of the continent were unpaid soldiers whose farms showed the lack of husbandry, and merchants rendered desperate by the economic tangle that followed conflicting State laws. The people as a whole were poor, and impatient with their fellow-townsmen who, through natural sagacity and good judgment, still retained comfortable properties and estates. Meantime differences in education and resources were as yet insufficient to provoke mass antagonism. The town meeting was a leveler, and all holders of the franchise stood on an apparent level.

While these conditions were by no means ideal, they were probably as nearly so as will be found in human society. There was strong party feeling bitterly expressed by Hamilton and Jefferson. Resentments, jealousies, harsh criticism caused by the sort of government action, or inaction, which thwarted individual enterprise, or whipped the sluggish into line, existed, but general discussion

helped to clear the air. Men of various fortunes were still neighbors, and there was group sagacity.

Times were still favorable for the creation of the sort of healthful sentiment which might have substituted safety for speed and crystallized into corrective legislation, if such was needed, but lesser problems engrossed attention. European markets—the war with England—the Louisiana Purchase—the opening of the West—and slavery issues—had the appeal of the practical. We of the decadence may criticize, but it is doubtful if we would have done differently than our fathers. They lost themselves in the stir of the moment. We should probably have done the same. It is not for us then to accuse them. It is perhaps better to remember the scripture adage—"Judge not that ye be not judged." At the same time we can but realize that they had the compelling facts which made it logical and necessary for them to thrice bulwark the young Republic.

Two centuries before their day Governor Bradford had summarized the causes that overwhelmed New Plymouth:

But it may be demanded how came it to pass that so many wicked persons and profane people should so quickly come over into this land and mix themselves among them [the Pilgrims] yt began ye work and they came for religious sake. . . . Ist, It is ever to be remembered that where the Lord begins to sow

good seed ther ye envious man will endeavor to sow tares. . . . 2, When they [the pilgrims] could have such as they would [they] were glad to take such as they could . . . as so many untoward servants were thus brought over [these] became familiar of themselves which gave increase herewith. 3, Those who transported passengers cared not who ye persons were [that they brought over], so that they had money to pay them. And by this means the cunthrie became pestered with many unworthy persons. 4, Many adhear to ye people of God for ye loaves sake and a mixed multitude came into ye wilderness with ye people of God, etc. And thus by one means or other in two years time, it is a question whether ye greater part be grown to worser, which is as much as to say that it only took a score of years to throw the interests of a religious colony into the hands of irreligious men.

The above paragraph and other cautionary signals in the writings of Pilgrims may never have come under their eyes, but they knew of the genuine endeavor that Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island pioneers had made to preserve bodies politic which should reflect the opinions and convictions of their founders, and the amazing difficulties they had encountered not only in their unfortunate but well-intentioned efforts to preserve a hierarchy, but to maintain their ideals. If they believed as they said they did that Freedom was their choicest possession, we can but come to the inexorable conclusion that every other object

should have been subordinated by them to Freedom's primary claim.

Instead of so doing they pressed over the Alleghanies—moved in great companies into the Western Reserve—hewed down forests—rushed their carrying trade into all regions reached by the channels of continental rivers—opened routes to the Columbia and the Golden Gate—and created that burning, scorching thirst for gold and acquisitions which is now driving the nation to its ruin.

It was all magnificent, but it was splendidly dangerous. We now know that this formative period should have been given to high thinking and meager living. Far from adjusting themselves to such ideals the men whom Webster, Clay, and Calhoun represented in Washington lived wastefully and thought no more than they had to. Thus they burned their forests, as James Fenimore Cooper tells us, in order to secure not lumber but potash; slaughtered the wild game that crossed their far-reaching trails; and robbed the earth of its chemical properties without regard for future fertility. Charles Dickens stamped their generation as only genius could. Harriet Martineau marveled more at their reckless disregard for vital things than she did at their accomplishments, and then with the dawn of the Civil War James Russell Lowell, one of the comparatively few in that age who still saw clearly, lashed them with a scorn which was as biting as it was prophetic.

Let us hear what he has to say:

Our material prosperity for nearly half a century has been so unparalleled that the minds of men have become gradually more and more absorbed in matters of personal concern; and our institutions have practically worked so well and so easily that we have learned to trust in our luck and to take the permanence of our government for granted. The country has been divided on questions of temporary policy and the people have been drilled to a wonderful discipline in the maneuvers of party tactics—but no crisis has arisen to force upon them a consideration of the fundamental principles of our system, or to arouse in them a sense of national unity and *make them feel that patriotism* was anything more than a pleasant sentiment—half Fourth of July and half Eighth of January—a feeble reminiscence rather than a living fact with a direct bearing on the National well-being.

This extract from the poet statesman graphically marks the period in our national life when careless individualism registered itself as working toward the undoing of its own principles. Lowell himself could hardly have anticipated at that time the full significance of the facts which caught his attention.

Except in the South where the great planters were apparently regarded by the poor whites and slaves as feudal chiefs to the manor born, there was not yet much exhibition of wealth. Some great merchants there were in the North whose claim

for prestige was accepted with easy tolerance, but there had not been time to build upon the foundations of the enormous fortunes that followed the discovery of gold in California, the building of the Union Pacific Railroad, and the utilization of the supposedly limitless resources of coal and oil. Therefore few realized that explosive forces which were shortly to shake the Republic had been accumulating during a negative and therefore decadent political period.

Those who were at all alive to the situation believed that the Civil War, the war of voluntary service and renunciation, might bring about a great awakening. To an extent they were not disappointed. It registered the Nation's adherence to the principles of loyalty and independence, and gave it the rebirth in sentiment that Abraham Lincoln desired. Unfortunately, however, it brought other reactions—first, the amassing of enormous wealth by men who were unworthy of their country, and second, the vigorous push toward material achievement which always follows great wars. Whether this latter provided the match which set off the accumulation of combustibles which had been piling up, it will be difficult to say. This we know—that before the farms and shops had welcomed back a citizen soldiery there were deep-seated rumblings presaging trouble, and that shortly thereafter a great rent separating the rich from the poor was torn through the fabric of

American society. Of no mean proportions at the very first, this has grown deeper and broader with the recurring years. It is now bottomless and is the apparent cause of various other lines of class separation, some paralleling its course and others radiating from it.

No attempt will be made here to dwell upon historic phenomena with which many living Americans are familiar. Draft riots in New York and industrial cities of the North, the great railroad riots of the seventies, agitation for a debased currency, Coxey demonstrations, sandlot oratory, and country-wide disturbances have in some degree evidenced the appearance in a government framed for the people of every malignant element which has blocked individual development in the past and wrecked every great civilization of which we know.

It is sufficient to dwell upon conditions as they are. They could not be worse without necessitating revolution.

To be sure there is little of the dreadful poverty which other periods have witnessed, but there is that which is worse—Envy—Hate—Suspicion—and Arrogance. The prosperous, with exceptions of which the public is not unobservant, reek with their good fortune. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it has come to them too recently to be gracefully borne. Therefore it is flaunted and flicked into the eyes of those who are already mad

with jealousy or contempt. Take the display of automobiles on Fifth Avenue, New York, or on similar thoroughfares in our great cities. One wearies in watching the endless processions of these. Some are plain enough, some, though luxurious, are driven in a way that indicates human ownership. But there are always enough of the over-splendid to disgust the sensible citizen and enrage the unfortunate. Inevitably these are the ones that are superfluous in their plate glass and fittings that show their owners to the least advantage. Take note of the latter—the men are over-fed, hard-featured, contemptible; the women are painted, over-dressed, and again contemptible. There is no excuse for such clothes on the public highway. There is no excuse for faces that reflect covetousness, bestiality, and pride. God made them, and man spoiled them. The democracy because it is a democracy cannot interfere although one such equipage so owned and so driven rouses hateful passion in the state.

These two last facts are worth pondering, viz., the limitations of a people's government, and the unhappy consequence of ungenerous ostentation and show. If the owner of one automobile that reeks with everything that inflames the mind of the critical can create bad feelings in many of his fellow-citizens, what shall we expect to follow the impudent and imposing exhibition of lavishly upholstered motor vehicles that never cease their parade?

Unfortunately the automobile is not the only medium which the unthinking rich use in a manner that is extremely perilous. It is only one of many media! To be sure there has never been an age in which wealth has not bubbled over in vulgarity and shrieked its shortcomings by the adornment of person and equipage. Such things, however, belong to centralized governments which warn the embittered not to express their sentiments and are quick to stamp out revolt. With republics it is different. Wealth that is not shared is bound to be unpopular, however honorable the acquirement, and in itself produces dangerous reactions among those who do not have it, which popular government has thus far failed to deal with satisfactorily. When those who have prospered forget this, as great numbers of persons in the United States have forgotten it, and are flamboyant and vain-glorious in their bearing, they invite the disaster which is always threatening.

I fully recognize the fact that statements of this sort may well be regarded as challenging the practicability of democracy as we understand it, but I have never found that anything was gained by denying the existence of real dilemmas. Of the various forms of government that have been tried I think of none that is better for the individual man and for society than one like that which is secured to the people of the United States through their Constitution. Meantime I cannot hide the fact

that the fair working of the republican system as we know it produces wealth, and that wealth creates envy and precipitates war between those who have it and those who are excluded from its enjoyment.

It is all very pitiful and tragic because thrift, a virtue in a republic, is good. The accumulation which follows thrift that is not covetousness is good, and the encouragement of art, the building of ample homes, and the weaving and wearing of beautiful fabrics, if not spoiled by pride, are good, but these things contain that in themselves which is self-destruction in any society which does not provide safeguards through right education.

We have not provided safeguards, although we put our children through certain intellectual gymnastics, and it looks as if we should have to bear the consequences.

To return now to conditions in this country. I have had something to say about the symptoms of prodigality and of the contemptuous attitude which part of the people bear or are supposed to bear toward the majority of their fellow-citizens, and have called attention to the lack of cohesion between the units of our republican society. Over against the exhibition of wealth is the recorded dissatisfaction of the multitude which is a product of the sort of national prosperity which is garnered by the few.

The crowd lacks the intelligence, the judgment

and virility of the minority, but it is too ignorant or vicious to understand why it does not have a larger share of the good things in life. It therefore becomes stolid, giving constant evidence of hatred and bad blood, and is always big with latent power for trouble. It takes little to make this latter manifest. Sometimes it shows itself in centers that are affected with some particular economic disturbance. Sometimes it agitates the whole country as in times of unemployment. However, it matters little as to this. What we are to deplore is the unhappy reactions caused by the workings of economic law, the existence of bitterness among great masses of our countrymen, and the unquestioned will of millions of persons who are part of this body politic, to cause trouble to those who have outstripped them, if opportunity offers. Unless we can find a way to pull together the edges of the yawning gulf which divides the country into two great camps, we can hardly hope for a long continuance of a political system inherited from a former generation.

PART II

CONQUEST BY INVASION

CHAPTER I

IMPORTANT FACTS REGARDING RECENT IMMIGRATION

SOME facts and figures are given in an earlier chapter to acquaint the reader with the character and number of immigrants who have come into the United States since we became a Nation. I now propose to more particularly discuss these people and the influences which sway them. To do this properly it is quite desirable that there should be a more comprehensive review of recent immigration returns than has yet been attempted. This, taken into consideration with data already given, will enable us to review the personnel of the Nation as it existed in the past, note the rapidity with which it changes, and better understand the situation as it is to-day.

We have seen that up to the year 1880 the Nation still retained some character of homogeneity. Thereafter there was a change. British and German immigration commenced to fall off. Scandinavian immigration which followed the close of the Civil War reached its height, and peoples in

Eastern and Southern Europe followed by recruits from Asia and Northern Africa set their faces toward the new world. These latter seemed to be feeling their way at first. Italy, which up to 1877 had not contributed more than three or four thousand in any previous year, sent over twelve thousand in 1880 and thirty thousand in 1882. This was the vanguard of a racial group which in 1900 was shipping one hundred thousand a year.

Thirteen individuals entered the country in 1861 from Austria-Hungary, being the first recorded visitors from the populous provinces of the dual empire. Thereafter each year brought a consignment of a few hundreds or thousands until 1881 when nearly twenty-eight thousand Austro-Hungarians pioneered the real movement from that country to the United States. This in 1900 brought 114,000 and in 1904 over 177,000 souls.

Russian immigration moved along similar lines to that from Austria-Hungary. In 1880, 7191 subjects of the Czar are reported as entering our ports. That was the largest number coming in any one season up to that date. 1900 brought 90,787 and 1906, 215,665 Russians. The returns from the last two countries when analyzed explain the presence in our industrial sections of great numbers of Jews, Poles, Bohemians, and other racial groups.

The above figures fairly illustrate the rapid increase in the numbers of newcomers from the countries thus adverted to. Immigration from each was at its height with the opening of the War in 1914. In that year 283,738 Italians, 278,152 Austro-Hungarians, and 255,660 Russians entered this country. Born under autocracies, knowing nothing of self-government, differing essentially in manners and customs, using tongues unlike the English, which for fifteen years after the war between the States remained in general vogue, these people have strongly modified our American life by introducing problems for which the Nation was totally unprepared. Meantime they have not been unaccompanied for no sooner had this exodus gotten well underway than its very pull or momentum began to affect other nations and continents, so that commencing with 1890 it became necessary for our immigration authorities to list outside of the immigration already referred to and that which is unassigned the citizens of eight major countries, using languages totally dissimilar from each other, viz., China, Japan, Turkey, Greece, Belgium, Portugal, Roumania, and Mexico. One of these nations is now represented in the Republic by more than 476,000 persons.

The above figures have been added to those already given to further illustrate the manner in which the population of the United States shifted from a status of homogeneity to one of hetero-

geneity. They should be informing as indicating the special strains of blood that are now found in our country.

The result of this recent immigration, taken together with the natural increase of the resident foreign white stock, becomes apparent from a glance at the following data.

In 1900 the whole population of the United States, excluding outlying possessions, was 75,994,575. Of this number 25,859,834 are recorded by the twelfth census as foreign stock, viz., foreign-born or of foreign parentage. In 1910 the whole population of the United States, excluding outlying possessions, was 91,972,266. Of this number 32,243,382 are recorded by the thirteenth census as foreign stock. This shows an increase for the ten year period in the so-called foreign population of $24\frac{7}{10}$ per cent.

Returns for the fourteenth census are yet unavailable to show the existent relation of the foreign stock in the country to the whole population, but we know that immigration up to 1914 continued large, and we also know that while the War and subsequent conditions have sharply checked the present flow of humanity from east to west, there is no lack of desire to immigrate.

It is interesting to note in connection with the matter under discussion that while few persons are now reaching our ports from territories re-

cently under Russian, German, and Austrian control, Spanish immigration, formerly nil, is becoming a decided factor in recent reports, and that Mexicans are pouring over the Rio Grande border. This latter truth taken into connection with the incoming of Orientals and persons arriving via Canada must lead us shortly to think of immigration as something more than a tidal wave from Europe. In reality it resembles the inflow that comes over the edge of a bowl which is pressed below the surface of the water.

Before leaving this phase of immigration it may be profitable to refer to that part of it which is transient. Statisticians and publicists who deal with data affecting our population have been too often satisfied to refer to the last official Federal census. This has led them and those who rely upon their figures to draw erroneous conclusions. It probably explains a failure to provide such regulatory laws as would save the Nation from a thousand embarrassments. If such inquirers want all the facts they cannot overlook the returns of the immigration authorities, and especially those which have to do with emigration or the outgoing of aliens.

The census expert learns something of the number of foreign-born in the country at recurring ten-year periods, but he takes no account of the unregulated armies of aliens who have swarmed our ports, taken up temporary residence among us,

(perhaps participating in industrial wars), and drifted out again when it suited their convenience. This element is a disturbing one and should be reckoned as such. It can be checked up by a study of the charts presented in the Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration which designate permanent arrivals and departures as "immigrant aliens" and "emigrant aliens," and temporary arrivals and departures as "non-immigrant aliens" and "non-emigrant aliens." These indicate that between 1908 and 1921 we received 8,312,037 persons who alleged that they had come to stay, and dismissed 2,970,305 persons who alleged that they would not return. During the same years the Government Bureau reported that 1,967,012 aliens (non-immigrant) were at different times temporarily in the country, and 2,513,490 aliens (non-emigrant) domiciled here were traveling abroad.

Such facts disclose currents of influence moving through the alien population of the United States and the racial groups overseas. They are worth attention!

It is now in order to take up the matter of immigrant distribution! Where have all the peoples who have come from outside and thrown in their lot with us during the last fifty years gone, and how are they absorbed?

For convenience immigrants of the past may be divided into four classes:

- 1.—The Nordic group.
- 2.—Farmers, traders, and mechanics belonging to other white groups.
- 3.—Unskilled white labor.
- 4.—Orientals.

1.—The Nordic group includes the British, Dutch, German, French, and Scandinavian peoples. Of these the English-speaking stock is widely distributed, has been readily amalgamated, and both in city and country are important factors in American life. It is difficult to localize it. The Germans are in New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Missouri. The French-Canadians are in the industrial centers of New England and here and there along the border. Scandinavians are in Minnesota and similar states of the West North Central Division which are interested in farming and flour-milling. While certain of these people cling to their own tongues, the whole group, which belongs to the earlier immigration, form an important element of the fixed population and give no occasion for concern.

2.—The second class designated—farmers, traders, and mechanics—will be found to come mostly from Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe. It is made up of the Jews from Germany, Russia, and pre-War Austria-Hungary, Greek and Italian fruit-dealers and small ware merchants of different nations, skilled laborers whose talents

are quickly utilized in the industries and who not infrequently make rapid progress, gardeners and farmers like the Poles who raise tobacco in the Connecticut Valley, the Portuguese of Cape Cod, and small agriculturists of other nations who are found along the coast and near the great towns.

Varying in tastes, talents, and accomplishments, these people are at one in seeking the cities or metropolitan neighborhoods. This limits them naturally to the New England, the Middle Atlantic, and the East North Central States. Many bring a little money with them into the country; others accumulate by the thrift and industry which is required in order to make any headway in their callings. Such means as they have or acquire is invested for profit, and with the habit of independent planning, becomes an agency in hastening their assimilation. This group therefore like the one already treated is readily absorbed.

3.—The third division is made up of unskilled labor, and exceeds all other classes in number. It is apt to be illiterate and deficient in qualities which fit it to compete with the forces of American life.

While the incoming masses which make up the latter element appear to drift hither and thither, there is a trend of individuals toward centers which have been colonized by similar stock and into industries which employ persons speaking the same tongue.

As a result of such influences we find—

Italians	in New England which is a
Poles	center for textiles, boots
French-Canadians	and shoes, machinery,
Lithuanians	metal work.
Greeks	

Italians	in New York and New Jersey
Austrians	which have diversified in-
Russians	dustries including silk man-
	ufacture, clothing, copper
	products, foundry work,
	canning.

Russians	in Pennsylvania and Illinois
Austro-Hungarians	which, outside of their
	manufacturing interests, op-
	erate coal mines and make
	pig iron and steel.

Bohemians	in Ohio, Illinois, Michigan,
Hungarians	and adjacent States which
Slavs	are engaged in manufactur-
	ing, copper mining, auto-
	mobile building, etc.

Mexicans	in Texas and California.
Italians	
Russians	
Austrians	

Although a reasonable percentage of the individuals belonging to this class develop unsus-

pected powers, sometimes surprising their friends by the marked manner in which they grasp and utilize American ideas, the very great majority colonize and remain an undigested and dangerous element in the democracy. As has been seen, a considerable portion is in America transiently. The balance absorbs slowly and frequently presents aggregations of thousands of souls who after ten years of residence know little English and continue to follow customs and habits which are alien to the standards of the Republic.

4.—There remain the Orientals. These are for the present segregated in the Pacific States, and because of color and Asiatic origin constitute a problem in themselves. They are not among those who are readily assimilated.

In reviewing the locus of immigrant groups some attention has been given to the matter of absorption. It is to be regretted that a question of equal importance, that which relates to the criminal record of these peoples, can only be superficially handled because of the inability of many thousands of non-English speaking foreigners who become the prey of criminals to make convincing reports of their tragic experiences. Such facts as are collated by statisticians and from police records are therefore incomplete and cannot wisely be made the basis for final conclusions in regard to the degrees of criminality which should be assigned different races.

The careful student must therefore await the opening of communications between the non-English-speaking populace and the mass of the citizenry—a thing which is by no means impracticable of accomplishment. In the meantime we have statistics to indicate that the foreign-born and foreign parentage public makes a bad criminal return when compared to that made by native-born of native-stock.

We know that the Italian people, perhaps because of temperament, make a poor criminal showing; that the Irish and Russians have an unenviable record; and that the Germans are law-abiding. We have the important contribution which Professor Commons has made to our knowledge by pointing out that the percentage of criminals among native-born persons of foreign parentage is far above the number of lawbreakers among the foreign-born or persons of all-native stock; and we have the tabulations of Raymond Fosdick's valuable book on American Police Systems recently from the press, to verify the contemporary impression that the "American crime rate is greatly augmented by the presence of unassimilated or poorly-assimilated races."

What our people need now to consider is—that however bad an exhibit the foreign population make in police records, it does not begin to reflect the real condition. The average alien lives in an old-world environment, in which he is open to im-

puident robbery, criminal intrigue, and exploitation. If he escapes such, it is only by his good fortune. If he becomes a victim, there is no redress because he is unacquainted with his rights, and not knowing the English language, is without the medium for complaint.

It has been the purpose of this chapter to show the sources of immigration to the United States, the accelerated movement of the ever-increasing tide, and the distribution of the newcomers. The whole matter can hardly be dismissed without again calling attention to the fact that the great mass of immigrants is drawn to thirteen States of the Union. This directly interests the inhabitants of these Commonwealths, and because of their political importance, indirectly affects the whole citizenry of the United States.

Figures follow. They are intended to show areas and population as given by the official 1920 census, and the assumed foreign-born and foreign-parentage population in 1920.

	Area—1920	Whole Population 1920	Assumed Foreign-born Foreign-parent- age 1920
Mass.	8,039	3,852,356	2,676,131
R. I.	1,067	604,397	435,786
Conn.	4,820	1,380,631	841,638
N. Y.	47,654	10,385,227	7,182,721
N. J.	7,514	3,155,900	1,683,762
Penn.	44,832	8,720,017	3,864,454

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Ohio	40,740	5,759,394	1,839,362
Ind.	36,045	2,930,390	543,925
Ill.	56,043	6,485,280	3,322,423
Mich.	57,480	3,668,412	1,781,633
Wisc.	55,256	2,632,067	1,638,666
Minn.	80,858	2,387,125	1,581,362
Iowa	55,586	2,404,021	948,376
	495,934	54,365,217	28,340,239 ¹

A glance at the above tables indicates that the foreign population of thirteen States, which comprise less than one sixth of the area of continental United States (excluding Alaska), is more than one quarter of the whole population of the country. It also indicates that more than one half of the population of the aforesaid thirteen States which are the centers of the Nation's industry, is foreign-born or of foreign-parentage. Here is food for reflection!

¹ Data collated from the Fourteenth Census and Immigration Reports.

CHAPTER II

SOWING THE SEED OF DISAFFECTION

WE have seen that there are many aliens and persons of alien minds domiciled among us. We know that to an unfortunate extent this army has been bred in revolutionary tactics, and has little consideration for church and state. This fact which was equally true thirty years ago should have then led to careful provision for the regulation and control of immigrants. It would be more difficult to understand why nothing was done if we were doing something adequate ourselves. Omit cases where the immediate view of the dollar stimulates us to action, and we are not much inclined to push remedial measures. Trade matters always have right of way. Log-rolling propositions involving post-roads, colossal irrigation projects, and political patronage, interest us because they are means to private emolument, but we are all too busy to look after academic propositions that some other fellow may take care of.

What is true of the citizenry of the post-world-war period is true of their predecessors. Nothing

was done by them to supervise, protect, or direct the incoming hordes which have been as free to plot, assemble, and agitate as they have been to move wherever they were inclined.

This absurd disposition to let things go by default has been and continues to be a major mistake, and may lead to the overturning of the democracy.

Thirty years ago Americans fully understood the magnitude of the immigration movement, and not only officials who represented the government at the docks, but Congress itself, were advised as to the personnel of immigrants. Critics had called attention to the fact that various surveys—for which we have a passion and which corporations, the government, and men of great wealth indulge in apparently for the purpose of avoiding constructive work—had been undertaken and published. It is an indisputable fact moreover that federal and state lawmakers, hailing from industrial centers, were more or less informed because of the appearance in our statute books of legislation enacted to meet minor problems which had shaped up as a consequence of the Nation's *laissez-faire* methods.

Such facts and a thousand others bear witness to a sufficient knowledge of the situation to have justified strong regulative statutes which without interfering with industry would have deflected or rendered impotent forces which have

developed by neglect and are now almost beyond restraint.

These forces reflect that animus or enemy mind of the so-called foreign population of the United States which is not explained by consciousness of numbers or racial antagonism, but by the insufferable treatment that these people have received from Americans.

A statement of this nature suggests a strong indictment and may provoke criticism. It therefore seems wise to anticipate such by a word of explanation.

I do not intend to say that all the people of the United States have failed in their duty toward the undigested mass which they have admitted to their borders, any more than I wish to record myself as believing that all aliens coming into the country with the so-called tidal wave of ignorance and prejudice are difficult of assimilation. Just as there have been tens of thousands of recent immigrants who measure up to the best standards of the United States, so there are tens of thousands of Americans who by voice and action have done what they could to show the hospitality that is implied in invitation.

With this prefatory word I shall endeavor to explain what I mean by the "insufferable treatment" accorded immigrants by the people of the United States. It will be found to cover the whole period from the moment that the foreigner is re-

ceived at the docks until the period five, ten, twenty years after when according to the newcomer's ability to become assimilated, he finds himself a derelict in some non-English-speaking colony of an industrial city.

As far as individual federal officers have been able to mitigate the immigrant's discomfort during the detention at government docks, this has been done; but there have frequently been too few inspectors, insufficient quarters or inadequate machinery for complying with the statutory requirements. This is the fault of the Congress of the United States which has levied a sufficient head tax upon the newcomers to pay the charges of proper oversight but has withheld all but a niggardly appropriation.

One who views some of the reception pens during these days of stress or takes cognizance of the fact that thousands of would-be new arrivals are kept immured in the unwholesome quarters of ships for days after their arrival in America, will wonder why the United States does not discourage more immigration than it can take care of. This is a problem which awaits solution. Meantime it may be truly said that the government officials evince a disposition to do all in their power to make the discomforts of disembarkation as endurable as possible for the stranger. There is much kindness shown to women and children, and a spirit of helpfulness prevails.

Outside of the docks beyond the spasmodic efforts of altruistic societies to prevent the rawest kind of maltreatment, the new arrival who is without friends to meet him has nothing but exploitation and sorrow to look forward to.

Criminally minded and enormously clever individuals, who know the immigrant's necessities better than he does himself, await him on the street corners or follow him to his lodgings, and neglect no opening to deprive him of his money before he has fairly deposited the picturesque bundles which he brings with him as baggage. Thereafter he is tossed hither and thither between dishonest boarding-house keepers, money-changers, padrones, and labor agents until the major part of his tiny capital fund of fifty dollars or thereabouts has been extracted without any fair equivalent being returned.

The result is exactly what might have been anticipated. The unhappy subject of thoughtless government economy, wretched dock facilities, and outrageous exploitation resents and bitterly resents the manner in which he is thrown about and robbed. He may be decadent and lacking in superior mental gifts, but he is human and therefore almost hopelessly embittered toward the institutions of a country which has treated him or permitted him to be treated in such a manner.

Now it is a grave experiment for any people and especially a free people to admit within its terri-

tory vast numbers of aliens who are unacquainted with its manners and customs, and it is a grievous error to encourage such aliens if their education makes them impatient of government. What shall we say then as to the foolhardiness of a nation which not only welcomes a vast army of unfit immigrants but with frank indifference permits the newcomers to be so angered and distressed that assimilation into the law-abiding part of the public becomes impossible? Is such a policy other than suicidal? Propounding this question in order that the matter may have adequate attention, I wish to return to the experiences of immigrants as they leave the docks.

Americans of culture are travelers whenever their purses permit the expense. While for the most part they are careful to provide for suitable guides and couriers they rarely escape experiences which illustrate the helplessness of a stranger in a strange land—and this too when they possess some smattering of a foreign language. Such persons will quickly understand the plight of an arriving family which frequently includes several children. Here they are—father, mother, baby in arms, and two or three little bundles of clothing which on inspection turn out to be boys and girls of tender age. The whole group divide as best they may their entire family possessions—a wooden chest roped up so that it can be handled like a valise—some carpet-bag impedimenta, and

a sack or two. They have less than one hundred dollars all told, and the mother is drawing on this small fund for the sustenance of her dependents, frequently paying double the value of the simple food that she requires. This little coterie is at once marked by the nearest "Americanized" scamp who earns his living by preying upon his immigrant fellow-countrymen.

There is little chance for him while a federal inspector is by, but there are ways and means of approach, and so sometimes before government protection is removed and sometimes shortly after he accosts the man. Where is he going? If to a western point, the inquirer can be of no service because the steamship company has already arranged for transportation by land, but he can hand his new friend the card of some Chicago or Pittsburgh villain who is as bad as he is represented to be virtuous. If to a nearby industrial town, then the inquirer, who speaks English as well as the language of the newcomer, will rejoice to be of service. So, too, if he is to remain in the port itself. There is conference and persuasion, sometimes collusion between the principal rogue and some accomplice—then carriage is provided at an exorbitant rate and the whole company transported to a bad-smelling and dirty hostel for the night. Here there are introductions and communications between labor agents, padrones, etc. Do the adults want work? All that can be ar-

ranged for at a price, and so with the commissions for this and that and numberless charges the resources of the man and woman rapidly wane. This is too frequently the beginning of the end. The couple shift here and there, always advised. There is sickness or there are legal papers to sign. One of the professional doctors or one of the professional lawyers, whose practice is confined to the neighborhood of the docks, is called in—it matters little which, either will have his pound of flesh—and then the victims are released but not before they are fleeced.

There follow a few experiences:

A Pole arrived at Ellis Island with forty dollars in gold (Austrian money). On inquiry as to exchange he learned that there was a small establishment near the Bowery where he would be quickly accommodated. Hastening to this private banker he explained his needs and received a clean dollar bill in exchange for the weightier gold. He was then taken by his informant to the up-town elevated and sent on his way to Harlem.

During a time of unemployment groups of Russians were landed at Portland, Maine, and New York. They had been urged to sell all they had and buy tickets to America. It is said that their total resources were negligible, but they had tickets to western points which were crowded with unemployed laborers and did not wish to receive them. There was absolutely nothing for them to

do at the ports of entry, and no one sufficiently strong financially was willing to stand sponsor for them. They were ordered deported, leaving their impecunious friends sore and enraged.

Seven Italians came into Boston from New York, which had been their port of entry. Their purses were nearly flat. They were in search of a friend whose address was within a block of the South Station. An experienced cab driver solicited their trade, extracted a dollar apiece from each, gave them a little ride, and set them down at a stone's throw from the place where they started from.

One hundred and forty foreigners (new arrivals) were taken in charge by a padrone, cooped up in a barn which under the health regulations contained oxygen enough for twenty-five persons (no more). The better part of their earnings was spent for food which the padrone provided at exorbitant rates. This continued until the men demurred. Riots followed!

For a time immigrants on boat trains connecting New York steamers with New England points were regularly worked by a uniformed man who claimed to be an official and as such was regarded with awe by the new arrivals. This individual in an authoritative way demanded five or ten dollars from each immigrant and is reported to have collected it, too, without being forced to show his credentials. Rascals of this sort take care to

assure themselves that there is no one in the group exploited who can speak English.

A woman whose husband and child died shortly after her arrival in America was told by a sympathetic individual that he could get work for her in a Pennsylvania mining center. She would have to supply the transportation for both as he was without money. He promised that on arrival he would recompense the outlay. This amounted to forty dollars which the woman contributed. Tickets to a nearby suburban station were bought for a small sum and the balance pocketed by the man who disappeared on arrival.

These instances show the more obscure rogue at work as well as the professional. The latter handles his prey in blocks, arranges for an unfair exchange of money and exorbitant baggage transportation taxes, and plays into the hands of tenement keepers who charge enormously for accommodations and then pack their guests in unhygienic rooms (an incident is cited of seven men in a ten by twelve room—three piled on one bed and four on another). In such hostelryes lodgers are permitted to cook on a nearby stove which is placed anywhere.

The incidents thus narrated are given for a purpose. If the reader had been present at the times and places when these particular victims were robbed or mistreated he would have been able to watch the method of the operating scoundrels, and

to notice the reactions—immediate and costly to the Nation. Without the relation of such incidents it is difficult to give a sufficiently graphic idea of the pitiful dramas, or to show how the Nation suffers as a consequence.

With these in mind any American who understands that they are not exceptional but types of happenings that are the rule, ought to appreciate the extreme peril of standing by and letting things drift.

Imagine it—a million or more persons welcomed at our ports during a prosperous year and the better part of them (eighty per cent. some authorities say) turned over to the tender mercies of the depraved. Think of the suffering, the despair, the utter wretchedness of those who lose the pitiable little purses upon which they rely for support. Think of them as they realize how next to impossible it will be for them to now feed the dependents with them (often little children), or the possible dependents in Europe who picture them as having solved the problems of life because they have reached golden America.

Meditation of this sort will bring a conviction that if immigrants did not resent the treatment that they receive, or are permitted to receive at the hands of this Nation, they would be less than human and absolutely undesirable recruits. Whatever may be said to their disparagement, it is therefore entirely to their credit that they resent

the indignities which they suffer. Moreover, it is not surprising that, being temperamental, they await the time when they shall have an opportunity to get even with a government which, if it has done no overt thing to make them miserable, has refrained from giving them the protection which they may reasonably expect.

The reader has been warned heretofore that he must never forget that many thousands of the European immigration of the period above referred to have made good. These are exceptional cases and must be regarded as such! Meanwhile if he desires a striking confirmation of all that is alleged in regard to the effect which has been wrought upon the United States by its slovenly handling of immigration, it will not be difficult for him to secure this from one of these fortunate ones.

Some time ago I had occasion to call into conference the more humane employers of labor in a given locality. The object was to secure suggestions in regard to the protection of immigrants entering that section. The group included men high in railroad and manufacturing lines. After an opening had been made which set out the trials to which the foreigner is subjected, each in turn gave the company the benefit of his counsel. These were about what might be expected from any group of native and forceful Americans. In due course a retiring but able manufacturer was

reached. The latter, who had been an immigrant himself, was as eager to give his experience as the others were to listen. Fourteen years before he had entered New York City without any knowledge of the Metropolis. The day after his arrival he had occasion to go to Yonkers and had asked for guidance from a would-be helper who spoke his tongue. The latter in an apparent spirit of friendliness was eager to respond, but so managed as to make it cost the newcomer four times as much to reach Yonkers as it did to return. The loss was a small one and but one of many that followed, but the speaker testified that he had never gotten over the hurt which he felt when he realized that he had been betrayed. From his earnest words all drew the conclusion that the mature man believed that his whole career might have been disastrously affected because of the blow that his faith in America received shortly after his landing. In his argument he pointed out that if he, who had been fortunate, could not forget early indignities, we might be sure that those who had suffered severely in this country would brood over their troubles until some alleviating incident turned their fancy into brighter channels.

In relating this personal incident I cannot refrain from adding, with the hope that it may carry its message, that this gentleman, himself a European by birth, has been and is far quicker than his fellow-citizens of native stock to realize

the dreadful peril which is looming over the Nation because of its fatuity. Moreover, I wish to mark that he and men like him are doing something to correct the situation, while those whose inheritance is endangered are satisfied with exclamations and expletives.

CHAPTER III

PERMITTED EXPLOITATION

THE exploitation of immigrants at the docks has been given as one of the causes for the bitter feeling that many newcomers feel for the United States.

This marks the introduction of new peoples into the country which they are destined to occupy, and frequently, as has been seen, explains the beginning of an antipathy toward the state which offers them hospitality.

If the mistreatment of the incoming masses stopped here it would be difficult to eradicate the memory and consequences of an initial wrong. As a matter of fact, however, while many escape from entanglements which involve them upon landing, the great majority plunge deeper into the snares which have been carefully provided.

That the greater part of these are victimized by their compatriots in no way saves the situation. Indeed, it aggravates it because the mischief done is so easily concealed. If English-speaking Americans were the plunderers, they would hardly

succeed in pushing their designs without more or less publicity. This would both warn the public and bring the victim himself into relations with Americans of a better class. At present such a fortunate result is impossible. From the dock the immigrants go to the racial colony without coming into contact with Americans. Now and then a block of them are seen en route but the eternal procession moves in tourist or smoking cars and slips out of our port cities at night controlled, ticketed, and for the most part fated. There is something wholesale about this that is repugnant.

The sentimentalist finds these train loads analogous to the little bands of colonists that pushed inland from the first shore settlements of the country or to the pioneer trains that laced the continent in later years! There is not the slightest resemblance! The colonists moved in an orderly and self-sufficient manner that might be expected from freedmen who were dependent upon themselves. They were ably if not magnificently led. The pioneers combined men and women of English stock and Irish and German folk facing toward a free and undeveloped land which they were perfectly competent to subjugate, and everywhere on their way coming in contact with the resourceful people who had preceded them. It is true that some of these were poor. McMaster mentions the case of a man who trundled a wheelbarrow with wife and babe along

the great central route toward the West. This is an incident only—the postroads were sprinkled with such pathetic sights. It is true also that some of the people who attached themselves to the earlier and later migrations of home-makers were bad—just how bad can be read in William Bradford's diary or in the account of travels beyond the Mississippi which Vice-President Colfax gave the country in the days when the Union Pacific Railroad was nearing completion.

Poverty, however, did not shriek its limitations nor did vice control. We still had "Regulators" in those days who provided law where no law was, and thus escaped the negation of law which characterizes the industrial American community of our times. The immigrant traveled if he wished to in good company, and had a chance to assist himself when he arrived at his destination.

Contrast now the journeyings of these new argonauts. The label of the steamship agent or contractor who is handling them for profit is the sole factor that differentiates them from commodities. If the immigrants are going a short distance, they are now and then patronized by official-looking fakers who relieve the monotony of travel (as in cases on record) by demanding a gold coin from each for some service already provided; but aside from this sort of thing they are absolutely out of touch with anything American

unless it be the scenery which slips by them in the hours of daylight.

This brings the travelers to the colony for which they are destined. Here are sometimes friends or fellow-townsmen—at least people from the same country. There is something more—to the everlasting shame of the United States be it said—a miniature replica of the worst part of an Italian town, of a Jugo-Slav village, of an Armenian suburb, or of a Jewish ghetto. Patch the colonies of almost any manufacturing town in our industrial States together and you will have a motley carpet, bigger than the combined sections of the same town which is inhabited by Americans who cherish American traditions. Immigrants can pass their time within the borders of these colonies therefore without sensing the existence of a world outside.

Once in ten years the Government makes a numbering of the inhabitants. They comprise, as is elsewhere indicated, the greater part of the population of these same States. Here the new-comer finds his fellow-countrymen living like rats. Sometimes, as in the case of Neapolitans and the former inmates of European ghettos, they are used to this—sometimes they like it. Whether they like it or not, it spells the fate of the majority who learn to drift through these lanes and alleys as hopeless as the unburied ghosts of Acheron.

Tired and somewhat discouraged by mishan-

dling the alien opens his heart to those who are on hand to welcome him. Perhaps there is a public meeting to bring him into agreeable relations with that part of the leading men who expect to provide for their own support out of his perplexities. Perhaps this is done privately. In either event he has a few hours of satisfaction in viewing the enameled bath tubs which kind-hearted sociologists have provided for coalbins in the homes of those who are to be his neighbors. When these are passed he finds himself domiciled with many like himself in great tenements or overcrowded apartments which supply bunking-room only for personal privacy, and which are dismal prototypes of the lodgings he will occupy for the better part of his life. Sometimes he gets his meals over a common cookstove in an unventilated hall. Sometimes he forms one of a mess which pays extravagantly for unnutritious food, and sometimes he is admitted to a family circle which crowds from two to six boarders into quarters none too large for themselves.

At first he accepts what offers in the way of room and board as emergency provision—later he learns that he cannot do much better. In any event he has got to pay for what he receives poor though it may be, and therefore he is early inducted into a job and becomes one of a construction gang or part and parcel of a machine.

Up to the hour of employment which marks

the period in which the immigrant is geared up to American industrialism (not American life), this modern pilgrim, if sound physically and mentally, may have given evidence of characteristics which, properly developed, would have been an asset to the United States. If so, it will be surprising if such signs manifest themselves again. The victim is caught in the pull of a tide as inexorable as the current which hurls anything afloat on its surface over the precipitous rocks of Niagara. So viscous is it with immoralities of decadent civilizations that the victim cannot strike out; so heavy with devilish intrigue that his thinking faculties are suffocated.

Our platform men tell of the wide prairies and cheerful neighborhood communities of America, with their transforming and rehabilitating effect upon the quickly assimilated immigrants. This is a pipe dream!

The nearest that the average newcomer (who, statistics and the evidence of our eyes tell us, stays in the crowded States) gets to the better life of America is the show-windows that dazzle his eyes with electricity, the policed parks, and the glimpses which he secures on holidays of the "well-to-do." Work in the close companionship of other aliens with an occasional strike by way of excitement, and loitering about the racial streets and headquarters he inhabits, occupy all the time when the so-called immigrant is not eating or

sleeping. It is a dismal fact therefore that the America of his dreams, the America that was to give him a chance, is farther from him in Woonsocket or Paterson than it was in Palermo or Warsaw.

I have thought it wise to suggest the environment of the alien and the method of his entanglement therewith in order to the better explain the working of the agencies which deprive him of his money and his individuality. Now that this has been done (cursorily enough it is true), we can follow his movements better. These are practically controlled by the coteries to whom reference has been frequently made and which are to the foreign colony what the intriguing low-grade political cliques are to a metropolitan city.

Does the immigrant need to have a broken limb set, a tooth pulled, or an affidavit made—the coterie supplies any and all wants. Does he need advice as to exchange, or the transmission of money to dependents at home—the coterie can arrange all such matters, providing a banker if it is not in the banking business itself. Does he need a readjustment of wages or employment, a newspaper, instruction regarding matters in the home country or further information regarding the new country—all these services are performed by the coterie. Thus the coterie lives for the wretched person who has come under its domina-

tion—breathes for him—and to some degree spends his money for him.

Our fathers were keenly stirred by slavery in the South, and every now and then civilization makes an outcry over some tale of peonage which reaches its ears. While I am bound to confess that both slavery and peonage are hideous foes because of their frank interference with human rights, it is a question in my mind whether either exerts a more numbing effect upon the souls and therefore upon the characters of those whom they control than does the mischievous surveillance above adverted to. Its existence constitutes in itself a severe arraignment of our commercial shrewdness and of our political sagacity.

Meantime this surveillance exists, and, as every logical brain possessed of the premises will conclude without calling for evidence, provides a cover to numberless evil practices and fraudulent contrivances for the outwitting of our non-English-speaking population. The victims are without redress because they do not know our laws.

Heretofore history has furnished humanity with numerous instances of what the law phrases as felonies and misdemeanors committed in disorganized aggregations of men with but little other fear of punishment than may be provided by the blood-avenger.

During our own era civilization has been prodigal in its exhibition of crimes committed in

defiance of the law. It has remained for the American democracy to work out a plan by which miscreants working under the mantle of legal institutions can without penalty commit any illegal atrocity which is not of a character to divulge its own secret.

It is impossible to catalogue these atrocities, but it should be said that in spite of the reports of estimable Commissions the public still appears to be absolutely ignorant of the fact that the foreign centers in America are hotbeds of the sort of evil insinuation and innuendo which bring wretchedness to the person who is threatened with libelous publication or with slanderous statements.

When this is taken into consideration together with the fact that panaceas for every ill and ingenuous prospectuses for the accumulation of fortunes are peddled from door to door, one wonders that any foreigner, not himself a trickster, escapes the patent snares that are spread for him. If he does, attractive advertisements in the foreign press are too sure to lure the individual possessed of funds into singular investments.

I cannot refrain from relating an incident which is vocal in the revelation it makes of the ingenuousness of the immigrant. It is at the same time fairly illustrative of the tests that are made of his credulity.

As a result of scheming based upon a shrewd knowledge of the alien's psychology there came

to the addresses of Poles located in various colonies of industrial states, a glittering proposition. This offered the talented and ambitious Polander who desired to better himself a quick method of writing perfectly legible English. The only requisite was an early application to be accompanied by the insignificant sum of fifteen dollars. To the enterprising foreigner with money in the bank this was an "open sesame" to fortune. Balked and thwarted in his efforts to get ahead by his complete ignorance of the vernacular, and with a childlike faith in the printed communication because it was written in Polish and flattered his vanity, he made haste to ask that the contrivance be sent him and forwarded his money through postal channels. There was enough delay to allow the devisers of this trick to hear from as large a circle as possible (the victims were numerous and widely separated), and then there was mailed to each a toy representation of a typewriter.

It can be added that this particular matter came to the attention of American citizens and was straightway referred to the Post Office Department.

Trivial in itself it will serve to illustrate the kind of snares that are laid for the unwary. It is true that we have our clever confidence men in this country, but such people work to a disadvantage because the language medium which they use is that of the police, and because of a natural wari-

ness which is characteristic of our people. The slick and adroit racial chiefs who handle the immigrant by wholesale rarely allow themselves to be identified with these foreign colony rogues, however splendid their peculations. They pose as respectable residents if not as philanthropists and carry on their maneuvers under the apparent guise of law, mulcting communities by excessive charges, unrighteous commissions, and the performance of unnecessary services which require a gratuity. Meantime these headmen create an atmosphere in which depraved and corrupt persons thrive in full consciousness that the man higher up will not dare, in view of his own record, to betray them.

Thus robbery, fraud, licentious trade, and every form of felony and misdemeanor flourish unbuked in the foreign colonies, presumably because the American people fail to see that such conditions bear upon their national future. They may be right in their apparent assurance that the country is vigorous enough to throw the poison out of its system, but I cannot disguise from myself the fact that these colonies not only offer a premium to vice, but have a tendency to stamp out whatever is fine in well-meaning manhood or womanhood.

What hope will there be for the democracy when the inhabitants of these colonies outnumber, as they will soon do, the law-abiding and God-fearing part of the community?

CHAPTER IV

MACHINERY FOR REVOLUTION

INASMUCH as few understand the way in which the bad leaven of bitterness, because of exploitation, works, it will be well to follow an immigrant who has been robbed of a considerable part of his possessions, to the colony center which has become his home, and to mark the way in which this unit coalesces with other similar units into an organized body of discontent.

Lodging as this alien does in an overcrowded tenement, he welcomes an opportunity to get into the public squares or streets where he will be sure to listen to the harangues of soap-box orators. These almost without exception dwell upon the exactions and extortions of capitalism. To the heated fancy of the speakers every government that is not controlled by Sovietism is a creature of depraved and greedy conspirators, and has no other interest in the poor than to make use of them.

This sort of appeal explains to the immigrant the experiences through which he has just passed.

Although he knows that he was beggared by the connivance of men and women of his own racial stock, he is led to believe that if the official class were other than the emissaries of the well-to-do—if in fact they were disinterested—this would never have been permitted. As a result, from being cross he becomes ugly. America no longer appeals to him as it did when he first set his face toward its shores. He grits his teeth as he thinks of the deception played upon him, and listens attentively to the Red orator who understands perfectly what is passing in his mind, and plays upon his feelings with no uncertain touch.

Such are the first steps in the training of a revolutionist. Just how far the traveler will go along this road depends much upon his disposition and employment. Rarely does he stop this side of the radical meeting halls where he was taught anarchy in the old days and is taught Bolshevism at the present hour. Intensely human as has been seen, he will be satisfied in accepting Red theories as a philosophy if he begins to earn money and is able to supply his own wants and those of his family. Meantime there is no limit at which he will stop if things go against him and he is unable to sell his labor. Then his ire is fanned to a white blaze by starvation, family trouble, and pinching want. He loses his balance, disregards his own peril and having nothing to live for actually engages himself in deliberate plots which involve

murder and arson. The hand of society is against him and his hand is against society, and the pitiful part of it all is that it might have been different, if Americans had shown a little of the crass common sense which distinguished their ancestors, or even a very faint appreciation of the Golden Rule.

Let no one suppose that the picture thus portrayed is exceptional. What is true of one immigrant has been true of eighty per cent of all the persons who have entered our harbors for the last forty or fifty years. It will be seen therefore that bad as the material is from which we have drawn for labor to build our streets and sewers and do the unskilled work in our factories, and unfortunate as have been the traditions and environment of the incoming host, we have to blame ourselves rather than it for the revolutionary sentiment which possesses it. Briefly characterized it may be spoken of as an aggregation within an aggregation. While there is a drift of the foreign element into the Nation, the great mass of aliens is segregated in its own colonies. These constitute a conglomerate state within a state, and by means of communication to be later touched upon, preserve a solidarity which is the more disquieting because of the attraction which it exerts upon naturalized but alien-minded citizens.

An incident in my own experience will illustrate. In 1912 or thereabouts there was an industrial strike in a great manufacturing center. I have

forgotten the issue, but it was manifestly between the non-English-speaking labor of the community and the employers of labor. All the machinery of the Federal and State Governments was at once applied to a correction of conditions. No other result followed than is perceived when an automobile engine is speeded up without throwing the gears into mesh. Conciliatory agents assembled and proposed various schemes to alleviate the situation. Less attention was accorded them than can be secured by an ordinary dog which bays at the moon. The latter is a nuisance, the former were negligible. At last the situation resolved itself into this. A very fair percentage of the people in the whole city, alleged to be forty thousand in number, none of whom could speak English more than indifferently and most of whom were absolutely ignorant of the language, gathered at stated meeting places and chose a council made up of all races. This conference or controlling unit issued its edicts and guided a campaign which shortly threatened lives and property. Therefore the civil government called up nearby municipalities for assistance and endeavored at the eleventh hour to organize as capable a force for the protection of vested interests as was the army directed by the alien committee.

They were supposed to have organized government on their side and all the resources of a powerful state, but an appreciable part of the population

were disinclined to recognize any other will than their own. Moreover, those who were outside of the legal pale knew what they wanted and were unembarrassed by clumsy legislation. They were opportunists, and showed the faculty that abides in all men, even savages, to provide emergency machinery. Therefore they had the civil authorities at a disadvantage, and while making such demonstrations in force as pleased them, encouraged an unruly group to interfere with the movement of peaceful people and generally make themselves obnoxious.

Naturally the citizens of the State thus humiliated were intensely indignant. Men did not hesitate to say hard things against the foreigners. The press flamed into pithy paragraphs. Conditions were unthinkable. Such manifestations as had been made were revolutionary.

In so far as aliens are subject to the State which shows them hospitality, the newspapers were to a degree right in characterizing the action of the recalcitrants as revolutionary. Meantime they would have been more nearly correct if they had described the defiance of municipal law by a great body of aliens as an act of foreign, not civil war. The fact that the foreigners were on the soil of the outraged State merely aggravated matters.

There was then, as has been stated, a great outcry. Meantime it was perfectly apparent—

I.—That a commonwealth (Massachusetts),

whose records show a great contribution to the cause of democratic government, was absolutely without the civil machinery to guard rights of life, liberty, and property guaranteed to every citizen under her constitution;

2.—That a knot of foreigners located in a famous Massachusetts town notwithstanding the fact that they presumably represented as many tongues as were heard after the dispersion at Babel, were in a better position to work their will than was the police force of the State if the latter be taken apart from the military. The truth of this is demonstrated by the action of the Governor then in office, who called out the soldiery and placed the community under martial law.

Allusion has been made to the solidarity of the various elements which make up the foreign group, and the manner in which these (constituting a state within a state) can by the creation of a resident committee control their following in any given center. Let us see now how a committee of this nature is in a position to dictate the action of the masses which it represents.

After the militia had been summoned to the industrial community referred to, now become the seat of war, the commanding officer made a wise disposition of his troops and with excellent judgment endeavored to limit their activities to such offices as might be performed by a sheriff's posse. Mills and public places were guarded, mob-like

gatherings were prohibited, and an effort was made to keep the crowds upon the sidewalks moving.

If the foreign council had possessed any respect for law, it could by its powerful coöperation have immediately brought about a peaceful and normal condition favorable to the discussion of the industrial difficulties which had arisen. That this was far from its object became at once apparent; ugly taunts and epithets were leveled at the soldiers by the mob that accepted the bidding of the strike committee. The reasonable orders of officers and patrols were directly disobeyed, and the situation instead of improving became so tense that the conservative officer in charge was driven to issue general orders, instructing the militia to shoot under certain conditions, and warning the populace by properly bulletined placards. It was at this juncture that an association which was endeavoring to break down the barriers which prevent the assimilation of immigrants, offered to see that the warning placards were printed in different languages. This it was felt would meet the possible charge that the firm instructions given were misunderstood. No sooner was the suggestion made than it was adopted. As quickly as was practicable the placards were prepared in Polish, French, Italian, Syrian, Greek, and other languages.

Then there arose an unlooked for difficulty—bulletins in English already tacked to the fences

and telegraph poles had been torn down. Steps must be taken to prevent the further demolition of such literature unless the rational endeavor to prevent bloodshed was to prove worse than futile. Accordingly arrangements were made to get in touch with the foreign council through a group of carefully chosen agents who had long been active in charitable work among immigrants. The overtures of these emissaries were tentatively received, but the messengers who asked the council as a matter of humanity to discourage the tearing down of military bulletins were flatly refused. As a consequence the State which had welcomed and protected the insurgent aliens was denied an opportunity to communicate with them by a power within the State's own territory which in such matters appeared to be paramount.

Before this happening I had familiarized myself with studies and surveys of the foreign people in America, and believed that industrial chiefs who took laborers of different races into their employ on the ground that it would be difficult for these to organize, were correct.

If I remember rightly the Pittsburg survey of many years ago had presented data showing a will on the part of the different racial elements to combine, and the beginnings of some machinery to this end, but I was a sceptic until the opportunity came for personal observation—then there was a rude awakening. That was ten years ago. The

end then desired was a raise in the wage scale. Readers who recall the period and the controversy will differ in their conclusions, but all will have to agree that the campaign projected at that time by the I. W. W. agencies was handled without apparent discord. It will also be remembered that while the sovereignty of Massachusetts was vindicated in the end, the main object of the demonstrating mobs was accomplished. The mob was overawed, but the pay roll of the New England mills advanced several millions.

Reference has been made to this particular event, in itself an historic one, to illustrate the compactness and power of an alien district committee. Since the date referred to hundreds of incidents have occurred to confirm the conclusion of those who are sagacious enough to accept the experience as a warning if not a threat. Such persons can hardly avoid feeling that when men who speak different languages and who are of widely different temperaments and tastes can forget racial feuds which undoubtedly exist and act in perfect unison against authority there is occasion for municipal and state governments to handle themselves accordingly.

Meantime we shall err seriously if we conclude that the faculty of organization is confined to the groups of foreigners who occupy specific towns and cities. To the contrary when facts are gathered inductively we find that every important com-

munity in the United States has in proportion to the number of foreigners resident therein a more or less capable nucleus of alien schemers and plotters which on call can, and we may be sure will, attract to itself disaffected masses of the non-English-speaking people. This discovery justifies the statement that the segregated foreign colonies or the segregated groups of foreign colonies in the United States, notwithstanding an excellent animus on the part of many individuals are as alien to the interests of the whole people and the people's recognized government as they are alien in character.

Unfortunately it is impossible to stop with the colony or colony group which may be a menace to an isolated community. The thing that renders the whole situation extraordinary and without precedent is the correlation and coördination of these colonies so that just as cities and towns are part and parcel of the Nation, they become part and parcel of a loosely organized but shrewdly directed entity, which is as well fitted to express their combined view as the Federal Power is to reflect the sentiment of the whole people.

It is true that this centralization of the alien forces in the United States is difficult to describe with any satisfaction. That is why I deemed it wise to give first consideration to the town and city junta with which everyone who keeps in touch with the movements of the hour is more or

less familiar, and which has frequently been seen in action.

This directive power is not identical with the head agencies of the proletariat or part and parcel of the Third International, although we have reason to believe that it is not unsympathetic with the Red program. It is not to be confused with the body which controls the Industrial Workers of the World under whatever name the latter masquerades.

If one may dare a paradox—it exists and it does not exist. That is to say, it has not the concrete existence that rabid revolutionists would claim for it, and yet the potentialities and the means of directing these are not to be questioned.

In default of some better way of conveying my impression to those who would prefer the sort of defined statement which to my mind cannot be given, I submit the following. Every foreign contingent in this country is represented to a degree by a national society or by several national societies, and each of these societies is made up from, or is in touch with, state subsidiaries and hundreds of city, town, and district clubs. These local organizations reflect the policies of the national office, and if they are not in cordial relations with all the racial contingents in the neighborhood, are perfectly informed as to the method of reaching these in time of need. Some of them exercise an excellent influence—some are entirely

out of sympathy with American standards. Most of them have those on their official Boards who either put their racial interests above the interests of the American people or are responsive to radical influences in or outside of their organizations.

Again each considerable group of foreigners in the country supports a foreign language paper or papers which have a wide circulation and which review all public questions from an alien angle. A very fair proportion of these are conducted by men who are enemies of society as organized in the United States. These discuss matters which interest their clientele and define the policies of from a thousand to fifteen hundred less ambitious periodicals.

Let us imagine now that the headquarters office of the Proletariat in New York—Soviet emissaries—or the central conclave of such Red societies as are behind constant agitation for the overturning of existing institutions, desire to start something revolutionary or take advantage of some industrial outbreak. They will have first their skilled plotters and agents who are fully informed as to ways and means. They will also have the radical element in the national foreign societies and the foreign press as avenues through which to send out their pronunciamientos, and as aids in the development of whatever campaign they design.

Here then is the machinery ready to be installed for the purpose of frustrating the national will,

but so bestowed that it is difficult to challenge its right to exist. I sincerely hope that the reader will not undervalue its significance. In these days revolution does not arm in the open. It laughs at Parker and his men drawn across the road at Lexington. It jeers at the devotion which led a few resolute farmers to defy a uniformed and experienced soldiery. It prefers to bore from within, to diffuse its poison in the dark, and utter its call for preparation along permitted lines or through unseen channels. This explains unsigned revolutionary literature which is as regularly if not as frequently circulated as the daily paper in all industrial centers; the appeals sandwiched in between news items in the foreign periodicals, and the bold exhortations to revolution which are made in a language other than English.

Whatever the reader may think of the value of the machinery for organization which the alien element in America has in its self-consciousness hammered into some sort of form, the Soviet emissary understands perfectly that he has a formidable engine at hand which can easily be made to function. He also knows that millions of money and millions of men at the disposition of this Government are of less value to the authorities than the incomparable advantage he secures by working in foreign languages that are a closed book to Americans. This permits him if he choose or when he may choose to strike at the govern-

ment which protects him, without leaving the open and to masquerade as a friend when he is an enemy. With this advantage secured to him and perfectly conscious of the immunity from arrest which American principles provide for license of speech, he is at present giving his best time to working up revolutionary sentiment in such local foreign papers and foreign clubs as are not at present sufficiently advanced. Inasmuch as these are the elementary units of alien sentiment and expression, this chapter will not be complete without analyzing them more particularly even at the cost of repetition.

Foreign clubs are of various character. A survey made for Boston some years ago showed that there were eighty-three such organizations in that city which were catalogued as civic. This is suggestive! On further inquiry it appeared that the bulk of these might be characterized as endowment societies. As such they are not only open to the objections which are offered to organizations of this class that are not properly supervised, but because of the language bar they may readily be used by scheming persons who have their personal interests rather than those of the community in view. Such societies become the media for propaganda, but for the most part require less attention than others which are of a public nature.

Of these some are literary or for self-improvement. They serve a purpose and are not to be

criticized. This leaves the clubs which reflect racial or national aspirations which have already been adverted to, and the radical societies. While the first are a natural avenue through which a self-expatriated population may keep the mother country in mind, they regrettably but lawfully serve to shut out the standards and customs of the United States, and thus serve innocently enough to divert the interest of their members and of those with whom their members come in touch, from the concerns of the democracy in which they live.

That this is a grave evil even in time of peace will be conceded by anyone who realizes the character of a popular government which is fickle and cannot thrive to advantage if other questions than those which concern its well-being have the attention of a fair percentage of its population. But the mischief worked by these clubs does not end here. They have a fatal attraction for naturalized citizens, many of whom have secured the franchise because of the stupid urgency of thoughtless Americans. They are always centers of intrigue and because of their connections with political parties abroad may at any time cause grave embarrassment to the Federal Department of State. They are distinct assets to an alien enemy which may readily use them for secret service purposes. And last but not least, because of their superb organization and respectable char-

acter they can readily be made the tool of revolutionists who understand much better than do Americans how little the rank and file in most of these aggregations know about the United States and the problems that it is solving for humanity.

So much for the foreign societies with racial objects in view, almost without number, in the United States. I believe and have stated that I think it natural for aliens resident in this country to get together in such cliques. I have the highest regard for some of their superior officers, and I know that many of them performed important service for the United States during the World War, but it must be perfectly apparent to everyone that an alien foreign language organism or organisms of this character unless supervised or limited are antagonistic to the best interests of any democracy. I shall be surprised if foreigners who believe in popular government are not in accord.

This brings us to the rattlesnake variety of foreign clubs which consistently and continuously endeavor to inoculate with their poison the community in which they are permitted to exist. Organizations of this sort are as plentiful in a great city as the serpents whose instincts they follow are in a rattlesnake section of the West. Some are federated, others are not. All have their volunteer runners who skirmish the foreign colonies and bring in recruits.

Up to the present time these are the only reception committees that the United States provides for newcomers. It could not have found more vigilant or active ones. If they or their emissaries are not at the docks, they are at the boarding-houses in which the newcomers are crammed. Always they are to be found in the mills and shops. Various as are their methods they rarely fail in their objects. Therefore it matters little whether they secure their man by congratulating him upon a safe arrival in a land of liberty, or add fuel to the flame of the victim's anger. In one case the arriving immigrant goes to the club to meet fellow-countrymen who wish to know him—in the other he is seeking for aid in his endeavor to get even with the capitalistic oppressor. In both instances he becomes the tool of the intriguer.

Inasmuch as three quarters of the vast throngs of immigrants who enter the United States pass through these clubs, either as members or guests, and inasmuch as a large proportion of them remain affiliated with them, it is time that citizens should have a better understanding of their workings. For convenience I shall divide them into:

- 1.—Forums for discussion (generally organized and controlled by intellectuals and students who have a fine distaste for anything that exists that is not wicked or bizarre).

- 2.—Socialistic societies with varying programs

for the immediate or ultimate betterment of the race through the exaltation of the community.

3.—Anarchistic or Red clubs which preach bloody revolutions and plot openly or secretly for the disintegration of society.

4.—Communist or Soviet circles.

5.—Labor cliques with definite programs, generally out of tune with the existing order of things.

6.—Schools for the teaching of radical doctrines.

Such a differentiation is necessarily arbitrary and of little consequence beyond such service as it may render by emphasizing the objects that these organizations have in mind. Certain of them combine as far as possible all the characteristics adverted to. Many rejoice in names that are beyond reproach while themselves distinctly revolutionary, and practically all are debating centers.

The reader's attention has already been given to the trials of the immigrant on landing. Imagine him now arriving at a meeting of one of these clubs to which it has been seen that he will naturally gravitate. There is warmth, society, fellowship, and what is perhaps more grateful than either—sympathy! The first impressions are therefore good and abide. It is no more than natural that the newcomer should return again and again, nor that he should later become a member of the organization. This means that he reflects the sentiment of those with whom he

mingles. Their views of America—and it must be remembered that most of them have passed through a like experience to his own—become his view of America. If he is young and has had some schooling abroad, he quickly affiliates himself with inside coteries who revel in academic criticism of everything that exists, and uses schools, college lectures, and public libraries for the sole and only purpose of perfecting himself in ultra radicalism. If he is illiterate and unambitious, he drifts into labor circles, dimly comprehends the arguments of the labor agitator who gets his living by stirring up trouble, and grows to vividly picture the capitalist as an inexorable tyrant.

Thus by one road or another do alien men, and women too, come to fixed conclusions that Americans who are not part and parcel of the distinctive critical type, are their natural foes. It is instinctive for them after they are convinced that they are being exploited, to herd together for defense. All this makes for solidarity, and few immigrants avoid being caught in this whirling current of class hatred. A few escape, some from the very fact that the recklessness of their adopted philosophy or belief leads them into dangerous paths; these accept life as a negation and of no value except as it provides the pleasurable excitement of a moment, which brings a tragic finale: some, because they inherit the shrewdness and

thrift that lead to fortune in spite of every discouragement accumulate a little money—become suspicious of socialistic theory that would rob them of their hard-earned wage, and develop a disposition to question arbitrary statement. This attitude of mind and realization of the preciousness of time make the latter unpopular with organizers of trouble and while it leads to temporary isolation, becomes their ultimate salvation. With little to lose such men and women wake to the opportunity for improvement and according to their abilities build swiftly and certainly. Later they will be found among the esteemed citizens of city or village, many of them measuring well up with those who are most regarded by their fellows, and all of them cherishing a deeper love for the United States and American institutions than do many of those born on the soil. No one shall go beyond me in appreciation of immigrants of this character! If the republic is saved for coming generations, it will be more from their endeavor than from any contribution of those of us who have approved American traditions but beyond a sustained lust for money and applause and a certain ability to gratify one's selfish intuitions, are decadent.

Every reader is acquainted with the type above adverted to. It is that which the addle-headed but kindly spirited sociologist uses most harmfully as an illustration of the wonderful effect

America has upon all immigrants. If the Nation is to find itself again, it must stop this erroneous teaching. Such statements besides being uncomplimentary to the persons used as examples is dangerously and dreadfully false. While I am not prepared to go as far as others in making contradictory affirmations, I do not hesitate to say—after having enjoyed some opportunity for observation—that the major part of the immigrants coming into the United States are absolutely unlike those who deserve our praise for their achievements; to the contrary and largely because of preventable mishandling shortly after their arrival, these masses are automatically turned over to anarchists and various radicals who quickly align them with the growing revolutionary group. America cannot wake up to this fact too quickly.

Sincerely do I wish that a more powerful pen were at hand to describe the foreign press which is encouraged by certain industrial chiefs for what can only be sinister reasons. Outside of a few racial organs which are supported by cliques for devious purposes, there are not many which are capable of paying their way by ordinary circulation and advertisement. All others—and they must number between fifteen hundred and two thousand—appear to rely upon methods which would not be tolerated in the English-speaking press. Whether this is because of the illiteracy and poverty of the people for whom they are printed, or because the

proprietors prefer to exact toll from those who may be injured by their hostility, is always a question, although it is claimed by the editors of clean sheets, to the shame of American business interests if true, that such support as is given the foreign press by employers of labor goes to those which are irreconcilably radical. As far as I am informed papers published in foreign languages may be divided into five classes—news sheets that may be entirely respectable (there is a use for a limited number of them)—clerical periodicals which are conservative and safe—news sheets that are radical (these are abundant)—scurrilous periodicals with an anti-clerical tone—and various publications which reflect radical aspirations.

Others have given particular description of these different publications. For the purpose of this book it will be sufficient for me to record the belief that a very large proportion of our foreign-language papers are ready at any time to act as the media for distributing revolutionary propaganda.

PART III

PHENOMENA ACCOMPANYING AND EXPLAINING
THE DECADENCE OF DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

CHAPTER I

OCCASION FOR INTROSPECTION

IN due course I have given reasons for an inquiry into the status of American democracy, and finding that the alien invasion constitutes the chief reason for introspection, have presented facts and figures to illustrate the dominant position which the foreigner is assuming in the United States.

To my mind these indicate an intolerable situation, and shout a warning which must be heeded if this free government is to live.

That this warning has been heard by some is evidenced in the frequent appeal of platform and press for corrective action.

Meantime the Republic represents a vast aggregation of people, the inertia of whose movements in a wrong direction cannot readily be overcome. What is to be done in the premises by those who have caught the startling message?

I can think of nothing else than for each to follow the same course of action that he would pursue if a business or some domestic matter in which he was concerned with others was threatened by an obvious danger. In such a case he would—

First—Echo the alarm in such a way as to compel the attention of his compatriots; and

Second—Inform himself and them in regard to the fitness of the joint business or like concern to withstand attack. This to be effective would have to be done while there was yet time to eliminate elements of weakness.

Taking my own medicine then and doing the thing which to me appears logical if not a duty, I have in preceding chapters set out certain distressing truths in regard to which I am informed in the hope that they may reach some reader equally interested in democracy who has not shared my opportunity for observation.

I wish now to dwell upon certain signs of decadence in the political life of the Nation which may well have been disregarded by those of my fellow-citizens who have not thus far noted the gathering storm clouds but which ought not to be longer ignored because they terribly emphasize the growing peril.

In doing this I shall only touch upon a few out of several tendencies and errancies which in themselves indicate decadence, and shall confine myself for the most part to such weaknesses as are brought into the high light by the foreign incursion. Those which have been selected as worthy of comment have largely to do with a false system of public education which has encouraged hypercriticism and socialism; the loss of political sanity,

explaining subservience to the intellectual expert and the absurd Americanization and Naturalization campaigns; and the confused social conditions which sharpen the edge of that dreadful enemy of democracy, propaganda.

In giving the matter thus presented such attention as it may warrant, I trust that the reader will constantly bear in mind the tremendous issues forced upon our citizenry by the incursion of the foreign armies that are now in occupancy of the land.

If it were not for this factor we could as a people take a chance at hazardous experiments and neglect the consideration of obvious faults until a more convenient season. Such a course might ultimately lead to ruin, but the Almighty has favored the Nation in spite of its predilection for strange gods and it is possible that he will continue so to do.

Unfortunately, however, we cannot eliminate the alien mind and will which threaten to crowd our concepts out of the national nest and substitute its own offspring. Therefore, we must face the situation and take corrective action if we are to avoid disaster. Like some abused bunting that is being dispossessed of its home by a cowbird, we can twitter in a high and thin key and make fierce little rushes at the intruder, but such flurries are of no import. The alien mind and will are affecting our political and economic standards, and they

will outlive this generation. They are not yet in full possession but they will soon be unless we bestir ourselves.

It is well enough for the shipmaster to ignore the fact that his vessel is unseaworthy while winds are propitious, but he is a fool and will meet the fate of a fool if he continues to do so when a tempest is gathering.

CHAPTER II

SOCIALISM

IN recapitulating the causes which are undermining democracy in the United States I have touched from time to time upon socialism.

I now propose to consider it more particularly, not for the purpose of discussing its platform or its frank propaganda, but with the object of calling attention to the manner in which it is insinuating itself into our political system.

Fifty years ago socialism was a word as hateful in the United States as communism is to-day. I readily recall my first socialist. He was an Englishman and subscribed for a tabooed sheet that advocated a redistribution of wealth.

As if in presage of the times now with us he found employment in the schools, being retained not to teach his philosophy but penmanship. Now and then he addressed small audiences in nearby towns, or wrote an article for some journal which none but imported agitators read.

He was a harmless little gentleman—bland and courteous—ready enough to take advantage of

every opportunity which an individualist government gave him to advance himself, and not at all like the censorious spirits who now preach socialism from our college chairs. Notwithstanding his excellent manners and the obvious fact that his philosophy had little to do with his daily life, he was *persona non grata* in the community.

Much water has gone over the mill since those days, and while I have no doubt that this early socialist, if he were now living, would claim that "evolution had registered something akin to his teaching," I cannot believe that his excellent mind would endorse much of the socialistic legislation which is current.

Reference to the radical of long ago emphasizes the difference between the Nation's point of view as it was in 1880 and as it is to-day. Then we respected scholarship and were influenced by it when it modified the opinion of men of judgment. Theories and theorists like my acquaintance, presenting impracticable schemes, were unpopular! *Now* we revere anybody and everybody who secures a university degree, and listen with consideration to pleasing propositions which were rejected by our fathers because they were incompatible with our political system.

The point of view has changed everything and made it possible for men like my little socialist to emerge from their obscurity and become the lions of the hour. *Then* we knew certain things were

good but unattainable. No one will question for instance that there was a deeper reverence in the United States for the sayings of Jesus Christ than there is at present. This was because of a recognition of His Divinity, and a regard for revelation which is not so general to-day. Jesus Christ said—"Be ye perfect." No one questioned the desirability of perfection, and those who failed to grasp the method of the Christ's teaching were very much inclined to give the words more emphasis than they could have been intended to convey, yet no one of sound mind and respectable standing dreamed that the individual human spirit could do more than approximate perfection.

To-day, whether it be along the lines of humanism, internationalism, or pacificism, we listen to schemes that are patently impracticable, without impatience if not with approval.

Persons who are now but dear memories would have said, "What in the name of common sense!" We say, "It is good and therefore commendable," and we recognize Professor—— who was suspected in our college days of taking to teaching because of unfitness for affairs, as an oracle.

How has this come about? Not otherwise, I think, than many of the serious mischiefs of the time! Through the finiteness of the finite and the inability of society or any part of it to hold the ground which it has secured after sharp fighting.

Whatever the final decision is in regard to in-

dividualism—history must bear evidence that during its first century the American Republic secured unsurpassed achievements for itself and the race through individualism. None of these achievements were more signal than those which, following the desire of enfranchised and successful spirits to share the fruit of their prosperity with the unfortunate, led to the establishment of great philanthropies.

Here democracy was at its best—not only giving its worthwhile units an opportunity to expand, but automatically providing for its poor and wretched in a way never equaled by a communistic or autocratic state.

So far all was good and greater good lay before; but with the key to progress in its hand philanthropy lost its sense of proportion just as commercialism and industrialism have lost their balance.

Moderation and temperance, two essential qualities in democracy, were forgotten; and failing to see that it was necessary to safeguard the conquests already made, altruism, conscious of its power under freedom attempted to actually secure the perfect.

The job has been too great for it, as it will continue to be! Meantime the effect of disdaining human limitation, the peril of undertaking projects beyond mortal capacity to handle, and the disposition to throw facts and reason into the discard has

brought about an unworldly method of thinking which is everywhere in evidence.

This is how I explain the very great change which has taken place between the period when a socialist was looked upon with suspicion in every town and city of the Republic, and our own era which is socialistic in expression if not in principle.

It is all very natural. The person who becomes acquainted with the depth of human misery as it presents itself to the charitably disposed—

1.—Recognizes the hopelessness of corrective endeavor without coöperation.

2.—Seeks through association with others, like-minded, to accomplish reforms which she or he could not do unaided.

3.—After exhausting the resources of such associated endeavor comes to the correct conclusion that the State can accomplish results which private enterprise finds impossible.

This leads him or her to advocate legislation for the amelioration of the poor and the ne'er-do-well as it is properly enacted for the dependent.

This is the first step. Finding it to work admirably, the same person goes further and supports legislation which not only aids but controls and shapes the movements and habits of individuals in a way that is incompatible with the principles of democracy.

Of course the cardinal error lies in forgetting that perfect freedom and any unjustified restraint of the liberty of the individual are at absolute variance. Society can espouse one principle or the other, but it cannot espouse both any more than Almighty God can give man a free will and then shape his actions.

Philosophy long since discovered the basic truths upon which such statements as I am making rest, and priests and statesmen in framing theologies and social compacts have taken scrupulous care to avoid contradiction.

Unfortunately, the average kind-hearted person is neither wise in matters of religious doctrine or political craft and therefore blunders into positions which are absolutely untenable. This appears to be what has happened in this country, the forceful people of which are more conspicuous for their altruism than for their understanding of public affairs. These latter are left to their politicians and their educators, and it is to the eternal discredit of these classes in the United States that we have drifted so far from the standard set by a generation which is still revered by all humanity.

Frank as I have been in cashiering the business man who constitutes the mightiest influence in the Republic, for bringing untold trouble upon the people by his obsession for affairs which have to do with his own material prosperity, I do not believe that he at first understood the consequence

of his neglect of duties incumbent upon him as a unit in a people's government.

Frank as I desire to be in criticizing the failure of sociologists and the worker for social betterment in eschewing any consideration of political limitations when they began to ask legislators to do the things which were outside of their province, I do not believe that these persons at first understood the trend of their bad reasoning.

It would have been possible to file a brief in defense of both the business man and the philanthropist if wrong-doing is ever excusable, on the ground of ignorance of law. I am sure, to the contrary, that nothing can be said in apology for those educators who have committed to them the matter of instructing the merchants and philanthropists, nor very specially in apology for the politician whether the same poses or has posed as statesman or ward-heeler.

I shall hereafter have something further to remark in regard to both the educator and the politician as experts.

I wish now to give some consideration to the politician who open-eyed led the people out of the straight and distinctly marked highway of democracy into the maze of socialism. His responsibility is and has been very great, not only because he is the representative of the people, but because in the words of a recent Congressman of national reputation, he resents meddling by the unofficial

person in the matter committed to his charge, and thereby recognizes his obligation.

Seventy-five years ago this politician knew or should have known things that a democracy could do and things it could not do. Marshall and Story had already interpreted the Constitution. Other eminent jurists who trained with the Federalist party and who were anxious to provide the new Republic with the necessary operative machinery, had marked the boundaries beyond which legislation could not proceed without danger. In doing this they had logically and satisfactorily explained that a democracy in enacting laws which were abhorrent to its nature must automatically go out of being.

We may be sure that the leading politicians of 1850 were familiar with these adjudications and that their followers of every degree were sufficiently coached—generally for party purposes—in such portions of these opinions as were fundamental and of consequence. Notwithstanding this, presumably with the object of winning public favor, the professional office-holding craft both in State and Nation passed bill after bill which was in opposition to the political principles which they avowed.

Did an industrial community desire something from the Congress or an Assembly? State legislation was secured by strict or free constructionists of the Constitution with little regard for anything

but the well-being of the politicians of their party. Did the people identified with the churches and the hospitals or other associations with which religious and humane people naturally group themselves, desire legislation to further the high objects which they had in mind? While the proponents were frequently advised that their wishes were prejudicial to their political interests, I do not find that their requests were denied, if it was found that the petitioners carried large political influence.

Thus the drift toward a socialized state commenced; loyalty to the men and women who had died and suffered, or were dying and suffering, for the Republic, leading publicists to continue to use a patriotic, democratic vernacular, but their acts showing how little they appreciated the principles to which they continued to pay lip-service.

One can hardly conceive how this element can go much further in bold hypocrisy than it has advanced in these times when the drift toward socialism has become a forceful and controlling current.

Not a day passes but we read speeches of men in high station which absolutely square with anything that we might have expected from George Washington or Abraham Lincoln. Yet everybody knows that the same men have fought fiercely for the enactment of bills which are wholly out of accord with the principles that they claim to

revere, or, as governors of states or heads of executive departments have signed bills or pushed through measures to which, if we can believe their words, they are unalterably opposed. The fact should persuade those who are most sluggish in wit that our political dilemma is very serious.

No society can long maintain a government, the actions of which contravene its principles; no society can successfully revise its form of government as long as its leaders claim (however sincerely) that they are loyal to the form of government which they discredit. For this reason it is difficult to see how society in the United States can endure as a democracy, and it is no less puzzling to imagine society in the United States becoming other than an opera bouffe socialistic government as long as its socialist leaders continue to prate of democracy.

Meantime, we may well suspect that we cannot remain as we are because it seems to be against the reason of the thing, and because we are informed that no other state has been able to long maintain such a false position. Time will insist that we follow up the sort of legislation which drafts a large percentage of the whole population into the unlimited development of State or Federal offices; taxes the people for all sorts of improvements; and dictates their activities after the manner of a socialized state;—or that we re-dedicate ourselves to the principles of democracy, and throw the govern-

ment out of ninety per cent. of the activities which it is at present supervising.

If that part of the citizenry which is loyal to Anglo-Saxon traditions does not do this, that factor in our body politic which is semi-European will roughly force a more embarrassing readjustment. As late as 1880 if the people who then constituted the United States had thought fit to maintain the integrity of the Republic rather than cater to a false humanism which demanded open doors in order that we might receive the inhabitants of the earth, it is probable that they could have secured their object without giving regard to outside pressure. They failed to diagnose the situation correctly; overlooked the fact that the weakening of their own institutions had hazarded what they believed to be the hope of the race; and let down the bars in such a way as to invite catastrophe for themselves and mankind.

It will be for Americans of this generation to solve the problems which their social and industrial training has unfitted them to grapple with in the face of alien comment and interference. At present they are in a predicament, although they do not appear to understand it, and are satisfied to let well enough alone.

If they are unconscious, however, of the great events that are impending, this is not true of the hosts of foreigners whom they invited to take up their residence among them. These people, in

many instances keener-witted if less forceful than those of Germanic stock, are crammed with the latest philosophies, realize that the conceptions of foreign thinkers are endorsed by honored members of our college faculties, and are in constant receipt of information in regard to the last experiments in human government. They know the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and our various Bills of Rights as well as we do ourselves. They appreciate the fact that our political leaders are unfitted to the tasks which the people have asked them to assume, and they very naturally conclude that our acceptance of socialistic doctrines is an argument in favor of that sort of community control which Sovietism is now championing. It is hardly to be supposed that they will remain inactive.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION

THERE are many causes for the developing criticism of the hour—the ultimate cause is perverse education.

This is the fault of the State, and promises to be the instrument of its ruin.

Every nation needs to instruct the units that compose it in loyalty and service. It would have been the task of the people of the United States to do this, if they had formed an arbitrary government. It has been and is far more their duty as the guarantor of the frailest human government—a democracy. That they have not performed this obligation is everywhere apparent in the lack of constructive political thinking and the popularity of the sort of stricture and criticism which has been complained of and which is the product of misshapen minds.

What then is the so-called education of which so much is heard? Our streets are full of educators. There are educational boards, societies, and conferences. Congress and the Legislatures of the

different States are constantly wrestling over educational matters of greater or less importance, and ceaselessly are we hearing of the debt we owe to teachers and the need of more and more money for their support.

What is this education of which we hear so much? I do not think I am far from making a reasonable response if I reply—the process set out in the dictionaries as synonymous with instruction or teaching which furnishes knowledge and disciplines the intellect.

My observation has led me to conclude that beyond agreeing to some such statement as is thus ventured educators differ in a substantial way as to the object of this miracle-working process when undertaken by the public. Some believe that education is for the purpose of making the individual of the greatest possible value to the State, which is the only real thing that matters—and others think of it for the individual alone.

Both groups are absolutely unconscious of its limitations, and talk of education as if it would turn a sow's ear into a silk purse.

It is to be hoped that the new light which is dawning, and which is leading experimenters to inquire into the limits of individual minds, may bring about an awakening. Meantime is there not abundant reason for the assertion that the American people have used their schools to start

a great many shallow intellects into feverish and dangerous operation?

I do not hesitate to aver that education as now understood and encouraged by the Government, was not contemplated by the Founders of the Republic. These far-sighted men as they felt their way into the great experiment in democracy which possessed such beneficent factors were convinced by reason and the testimony of experience that a Republic such as they planned could not endure without more than a modicum of virtue and intelligence.

They were establishing a people's government that was to insure liberty to the individual. The public that they knew and which provided the bone and sinew of the new Nation was informed, virile, and homogeneous in thought and speech. It was capable of grasping the fundamental principles of the democracy and putting them in practice. It was resourceful and competent to provide its own mental pabulum as well as to furnish its tables with food and its families with shelter.

There was no occasion for the architects of the Nation, therefore, to discuss general definitions of education or the ultimate object of a broad training. They were founding a State which was to meddle as little as possible in the business of the units which compose it.

Official authority was needed to conserve liberty and for little else. They provided it!

Education was needed for the definite purpose of instructing successive generations in the limitations of democracy so that the difficult balance between Order and Liberty might be kept. They encouraged it! using the word in the qualified sense which denotes the act of training by a prescribed course for a prescribed purpose. Their admonitions were respectfully accepted and promptly forgotten.

If their advice had been followed, our public schools would have been training fields for citizenship; the taxpayer would have received value for money paid into government treasuries; and a thousand and one present perils would have been averted because an informed body politic would have kept itself fit.

As I have elsewhere pointed out, the generation that followed the Revolutionary fathers was too busy in subduing the land to give careful attention to the counsel of their elders. Sections like New England made the "red schoolhouse" more or less effective, but the westward-facing pioneer had problems that he believed to be more intimate than matters of a merely political nature. Therefore when he and his neighbors sent for a teacher the latter was expected to instruct the young in "readin', 'ritin' and 'rithmetic," and stop there.

Such were the beginnings of the divergence from marked paths. The average American in 1820

got a schooling in democracy through 'participation in frontier councils, and town-meetings. The voter still had a voice in public assembly, and because all men talked the same language, had abundant opportunity to express himself and learn the opinion of others. The school gave facility, helped the brighter children to go ahead, and was paid for from the public purse, which, because of intimate community relations, was practically the same as the private purse.

Here were the beginnings of trouble!

Education as an avenue of opportunity took the place of education to safeguard acquired liberties, and crowded the latter to the wall at the very moment when it was most needed because of the Nation's changing personnel. It is difficult for us at the present time to understand the blindness of men and women we revere. We are assured of their virtue and patriotism and we cannot understand why they could not see how their standards were fated without the iteration and reiteration of the great principles it had cost them much to enunciate.

They must have known that growing luxury and remoteness from the period of struggle would render their descendants careless of liberties which are only conserved by vigilance! They can hardly have failed to realize that the country was rapidly filling up with multitudes that from environment and heredity were incapable of

understanding republican institutions without guidance.

These facts were patent to them, and yet they seemed to have deliberately ignored such elementary training as was given all neophytes by classic democracies, and to have assumed the broad educational functions for the State which are the basis of our present rapid trend toward socialism.

Why were the Founders of the Republic so short-sighted? The query discloses a field for inquiry which is open to the curious, but is hardly necessary in view of contemporary knowledge, psychology, and history. It would be just as profitless to give much time to investigating the reasons why they permitted slavery. It would be fairer to ask why this generation is quiescent when it is clearly apparent that the doom of American democracy is impending.

It is preferable to lay the mistake, and we can do so reverentially enough, to the inability of human nature when acting in the aggregate at this stage of its evolution to become engrossed in material matters without losing sight of its higher aspiration. Cynics find in this a fatality which makes ultimate progress unthinkable and leads successive civilizations to scrap themselves upon the ruins which have gone before.

I do not think this is necessary. Free will exists and will ultimately triumph, but as the body shackles the untrained spirit, so the lust and

glamour of things will continue to subvert the objects of political entities, until society gives as much thought to defense as to conquest.

Setting aside speculation for a recitation of facts, we know that Harriet Martineau, traveling through the States as they existed in the late thirties, was even more amazed than is an investigator of this later day to find that through the length and breadth of the land there was no attempt to educate children in the duties of citizenship. To her mind, and she was a forward-looking personage, this was as inexplicable as slavery. She antedated Abraham Lincoln by many years in pointing out that a state *cannot* exist half slave and half free, but she was just as logical and just as right when she alleged that the democracy was fated which neglected to train its children in the principles of its political faith. Travel was difficult in those days and there were few observers. None of these have recorded evidence which in any way conflicts with the testimony of Miss Martineau.

The twenty years that followed the publication of *Society in America* brought in the great German and Irish immigration. Public men of the Administrations between Van Buren and Buchanan had winced under the lash of English economists, knew the sting of Charles Dickens' satire, and had wrestled with problems of assimilation. Notwithstanding this their school books

which are still on the shelves of their grandchildren and which were prepared under public patronage, give no evidence of an awakening. There are tedious compilations which treat on geography, spelling, mathematics, natural philosophy, and somewhat slightly on American history, but little or nothing that suggests a concern in regard to the political principles of the child.

It is not improbable that our grandparents and great-grandparents expected that the torchlight procession, the spellbinders' speech, *à la* "Jefferson Brick," and the home would do all that was necessary in this way. If so, they were of course assuming for themselves duties naturally belonging to the State and putting over on the latter the matter of general education which could better have been left to private enterprise.

Men who are still active found the results of this erroneous policy when they in turn were first committed to the schoolmaster and then pushed out on the public stage to shift for themselves. For some of them, not many, there were still homes which could be relied upon to teach the responsibilities as well as the privileges of a republican form of government, but the political rally, the town-meeting, and training-day were unfamiliar factors. As a consequence the great majority were without other political guidance than was occasional and transitory. Meantime the public school had become something quite

disassociated from any other connection with the democracy as such than that which is supplied by a possible quickening of intellectual life, and the impartment of such knowledge as might be secured from Colburn's Mental Arithmetic, Worcester's Speller, Walton's Geography, and various standard readers.

There is, I presume, some support for a theory that this kind of erudition was furnished for purposes of state, otherwise the taxpayer would not have been compelled to pay the bill. Aside from fitting the pupil to do simple figuring, to read, and to write—foundations for instruction in self-government—I do not think that any particular good followed. Fifty years ago there was a general impression among school children—I think the impression continues—that most of the learning they acquired was to fit them to earn their living, if not to rise to a place of importance in the commercialized world. No one dreamed that it had anything to do, as some college presidents have been known to argue, with preparation for citizenship. As a rule nine tenths of the information unthankfully received was forgotten as soon as examination was over.

The results of national shiftlessness, which permitted doctrinaires to control vital matters while the everyday citizen gave his time to trade, have proved mischievous in the highest degree. As the political situation has become more con-

fused, the individual voter has not only become less capable of exercising the franchise in a sane and prudent manner, but is frequently looking for leadership to men who dislike democracy.

This means that the stage is set for something dramatic. To visualize the status we may think of American democracy as a well-intentioned Dame who commences a voyage in good weather, in a sound boat, and with an efficient boatman. Unforeseen happenings, alternate fogs and burning suns have warped and played havoc with the timbering of the vessel, and the boatman has been exchanged for a person of large book-knowledge who knows nothing of boats. At this juncture when the good lady is feeling a little dubious in regard to craft and pilot, the waters and the winds, instead of continuing propitious as heretofore, combine for a demonstration of their destructive powers. The unhappy woman certainly has a chance. So has American democracy!

We have glanced at the past and cursorily reviewed the period in which the Nation, obsessed with other matters and apparently confident of its own integrity, assumed the rôle of the general educator as it might have arranged to clothe, to feed, or to shelter the electorate. It would be useful before the whole matter of state instruction is dismissed to review seriatim some of the statements and facts which thrust themselves upon public notice, and which tend to confirm the per-

tinency of the analogy just offered. Inasmuch as space will not permit this, I am daring to make three assertions; I shall be content to have the reader verify the facts:

1.—Not one child out of a hundred graduated to-day from our public schools is familiar with the Constitution of the United States or any primary recitation of its principles—and not one in a thousand can give an intelligible statement as to what a democracy expects of its citizens.

2.—The average teacher in our public schools is as ignorant in regard to the limitations of democracy as is the pupil, knows little as to the privileges secured to the American people by our great State papers, and has more knowledge of schemes for social betterment than of primary political principles.

3.—The whole trend of public education is socialistic; the majority of the men and women in charge of education vaulting over the fundamental political requirements with which a free people must harness themselves if they are to remain free, and busying themselves with the working out of superstructural details.

The first and second averments can be readily tested. Innumerable educational reports provide a basis for the third conclusion. I cite as an example a paragraph from the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education, dated June 8, 1915:

In this country we shall never be satisfied until we have assured to each child that kind and degree of education necessary for the fullest and most perfect development of its humanity, for the complete life of manhood and womanhood, for the intelligent performance of the duties of citizenship, and for making an honest living by intelligent and skilled labor of some kind.

And again:

At last the world is beginning to understand that all children of whatever birth and condition, have certain rights which become obligations for society and state, and that chief among these is the right of education. The world is also becoming conscious of the fact that neither society nor state can ever attain to its best until every individual unit of it has attained unto its best.

The first duty of a democratic state certainly is to provide equal and full opportunity for education for all its children.

While the paragraph touching training in citizenship can hardly be improved for clear and concise statement of an unquestioned obligation, there is an expressed sympathy for State direction of human betterment which reflects the humanistic spirit of social workers. That this does credit to the qualities of heart possessed by the Commissioner of Education and those whose opinion he voices, will be readily granted. Indeed, one would go further and agree that the general policies thus

advocated might be most serviceable in safeguarding the Republic, if there were returns to show that the sort of instruction so earnestly recommended, and which is the same old program with which the Nation is familiar, thrown into a different guise, had produced citizens.

Hoodlumism contradicts this, and so does the bill introduced to the Sixty-sixth Congress by Senator Smith of Georgia. This fairly recites that there is need for Congress to annually appropriate \$100,000,000 to encourage the states in the promotion and support of education, and would hardly be offered for constitutional reasons (because it is obnoxious in itself), if it were not plain that the States had broken down in the matter of educating their own population.

Whether the bill passes or not, the discussions attending its presentation are bound to be a landmark in the history of American education. As such they register the fact that in the year 1922 education as conceived and practiced in the United States does not encourage democracy; that educators have refused to recognize the objects that a democracy seeks in providing public education; that a nation which does not train its own children to abide by the principles on which it is founded is incompetent to assume the almost hopeless task of immigrant education; and that there has been an awful waste of money in maintaining the elaborate public school system of the States.

In as much as this latter fact directly affects the voter's pocketbook, and offers an avenue by which his attention may be turned toward the present deplorable status, I purpose to comment briefly upon the same.

It is well known that the majority of the children who receive such training as our public school system provides never get beyond the grammar school and that numbers of these are unfitted to go further than the lower grades of the latter.

I presume it will be acknowledged that such pupils either lack the vital qualities which would make much of the information that is pounded into them of value, or are absolutely without aptitude for the acquirement of knowledge.

Why in the world then do we insist on plaguing them with instruction in matters that do not interest them, or strive to put a nice edge on metal that will not sharpen to advantage? Is it not like turning out lead swords?

It is not improbable that the matter of physical vitality as an essential quality of the primary scholar, has been given due notice by educators. If so, they have been seriously reticent! My own attention was called to it by the returns of an Academy Class secretary regarding the men who graduated with him twenty-five years ago. I have not the figures before me and therefore cannot give the facts accurately, but I am sure that if available these would not widely differ

from the data presented. Of the three hundred boys entering this class, or at times members of it, less than fifty graduated or completed what might be called a High School course. A much smaller number went to college. The statistics, which were gathered by communicating with the parents or relatives of the different individual members, conclusively showed that mortality had been the greatest among the boys who failed to finish the school course, and that it had been in inverse ratio to the period of school attendance. That is to say, not only had the majority of pupils in this class fallen out during the first years of school but the deaths among those who had been early removed for various reasons—presumably lack of vital punch and interest—had far outnumbered the deaths among those who had managed to square to a certain degree with requirements. I do not recall that any of the boys who had discontinued work at the Academy during the early years of the class organization were still living at the time when the figures were collated. This would seem to indicate for the particular case thus given that not more than ten per cent of a group taken at random from New England communities of the better sort—all of the boys being of native rather than foreign stock—were physically fit to qualify for a higher education—and that nine tenths of the group, whatever exceptions there may have been in the matter of mental equipment,

were better fitted for vocations which required little reading and study than for those which demanded a certain amount of erudition. It should not be overlooked that the children in the Academy class referred to were mentally and physically well above the mass of children that are brought into the public schools through the drag net of the law.

While the instance may not be worth much from a scientific point of view, it is one of a class of incidents which, when taken in connection with the observation of the average citizen, should have long since led the latter to query whether a large number of school children who are commandeered into public courses of instruction are not both mentally defective and physically unfit!

The founders of the Republic and their forebears recognized the value of education for those who could use it advantageously, but they did not attempt to provide more of this education, even for those whose faculties fitted them to absorb it, than was commensurate with the safety of the Republic. By so doing they wisely restricted the public duty of the State to things which it could perform.

Those who follow in their footsteps are far removed from the sociological cult which believes that the United States should as a public matter provide every aspirant for an education with the training which he desires, and which because it believes that education is a good thing long since

determined that the electorate as such should provide every one with a modicum of learning whether they have the capacity to use it or not.

We can hardly hope to bulwark the bulging walls of the democracy unless the people awake to the fact that these teachers are not only unsafe guardians for their children, but that they are using a large part of the national wealth to secure other returns than they were commissioned to obtain, or to no purpose at all. Up to the present time they have been contented to accept the ultimatum of such persons although they have not been slow to sharply criticize them on occasion. Of this, hereafter!

CHAPTER IV

THRALDOM

THE manner in which the people of the United States have permitted themselves to be cajoled in matters of education naturally leads to some discussion of the faculty they evince for thralldom. Hardly had they adopted "Hail, Columbia" as a national hymn and roared out in full-throated chorus—"let independence be our boast, ever mindful what it cost"—than they appear to have courted a state of intellectual villenage. Politically this first took the form of permitting an aggressive minority of forceful and able men in the South to run the Republic, and was later transformed into subjection to competent and far-seeing bosses in the North. A New England poet gives us a glimpse of the debasement of the populous and industrial North prior to the fifties in the *Bigelow Papers*:

"The north haint no kind o'bisness with nothin
An' you've no idee how much bother it saves:
We aint none riled by their frettin an frothin
We're used to layin the string on our slaves."
Sez John C. Calhoun, Sez he;—

“Freedom’s Keystone is Slavery, thet ther’s no doubt on,
Its suthin thet’s—wha’d ye call it?—divine,—
An the slaves thet we ollus make the most out on
Air them north o’ Mason an Dixon’s line”
Sez John C. Calhoun, Sez he;—

The majority has changed its masters in these times, but not its condition of political servitude. Educationally, as we have seen, it assumes the shape of vassalage to the pedagogues; and economically, deference to the labor element on the one side and the banking group on the other, both of which it joyfully assists to forge its chains.

Others will have a different explanation to give for this extraordinary phenomenon. I think there is but one, and that has elsewhere in these pages been broadly hinted at. This is none other than the sort of crazed absorption in commercialism which makes it appear unprofitable to those who court riches to allow themselves to be diverted by any other interest, and which therefore delegates to experts or enthusiasts responsibilities which seem of less moment.

I acknowledge that this is natural enough, and I am far from assuming an attitude of censorious criticism. Men appear to be unequal to doing more than one thing at a time, and both history and study of human nature prove conclusively that except under stress the race is impatient to secure material things.

Following an eternal cycle individuals have thus far sought to acquire possessions, place or power for themselves until thwarted by the ambition of others when they have organized, and forfeited something in the interest of security.

The revolt against interference from without explains every change in government that has stabilized freedom. Relapse again into selfish endeavor, coupled with forgetfulness of human limitation and failure to maintain the defenses which ensure liberty, explain the failure of free governments to maintain themselves for any length of time.

It would be surprising and mightily encouraging if the American Commonwealth had evinced an ability to square with the requirements that underly its endeavors.

It is absurd for us on the other hand not to recognize the dismal manner in which we have failed and are failing to maintain the underpinning upon which our whole invaluable system rests, and it is self-evident that whatever hope we have lies in a frank recognition of conditions which are revealed by a cursory diagnosis. This need not necessarily include the sort of harsh criticism which repels instead of persuades.

It is foolish for a people that desires to concentrate upon the material things that reward shrewd traders and bargainers, to leave interests that are essential to the boss, the politician, or the juggler

in finance because it means dependence, and amounts to a virtual killing of the goose that lays the golden egg. It is only fair to remember, however, that Americans in doing this have been far from understanding that they were putting themselves in bondage.

To their minds they were retaining experts, hiring minions, and employing agents to do the sort of subordinate work for them which is delegated to a sub-boss in a factory. I do not for a moment believe that they thought they were enslaving themselves, and enslavement would not necessarily have followed had they been careful to pass upon the matter committed to those appointed to represent their interests.

This latter they have never done and are not doing, and so in somewhat the same manner, although with honorable motives, in which Uriah Heep supplanted Mr. Wickfield in Charles Dickens' story of *David Copperfield*, these specialist experts, minions, and agents have not alone assumed full direction of their employers in the field committed to them, but have arrogated to themselves a dictatorial authority which is humiliating and dangerous.

"Well," says the business man who may happen to glance at these pages, "suppose for the moment that you are right in claiming that I and every other worthwhile American who is a live wire in the commercial world does give over matters of edu-

cation, finance, and politics to persons specially trained in these lines—What of it? Does that mean thralldom? Suppose again that for the purpose of keeping ourselves fit for general administrative problems we fall somewhat in error by letting these people function for us in the field committed to their care! What of it? Does this mean thralldom?"

My answer is—"How can it mean otherwise? You may have an immediate grip on business propositions which renders it possible for you to make much money and secure much respect from your trading compatriots, but the fellow who shapes and controls the political, educational, and fiscal system with which your business is geared up will before long control you. You are a bigger man than he is in spite of his technical knowledge or acquaintance with the elaborate intricacies of party policies. If you are a captain of industry you are a generalizer, and need his assistance in matters which require painstaking analysis. He is a specialist. There is only one way that you can use the expert to advantage and that is by taking his reports, scrutinizing them and noting whether his recommendations, which deserve your admiration, can be adjusted to your big plans *without* dangerously affecting interests which you know to be primary.

"If instead of doing this you give your expert free rein, you are not only in error, but are shack-

ling yourself and in direct proportion to the importance of the matter will someday have to bear the consequence."

I have instanced the case of a captain of industry. What is true of him in his private concerns is true of the aggregation of business men and is equally true of the electorate.

Both the individual group and the political entity, known as the people, are better competent to judge in regard to the value of expert findings made for them than is the expert. When, therefore, they allow the latter to draw conclusions and establish policies in their behalf, they accept intellectual servitude.

I have dared to say that this is exactly what the American people are doing! They are making themselves the slaves of their agents. Let the reader judge for himself. Meantime, I desire to point out that this obvious neglect of public duty not only reveals political incapacity but proves that the bulk of us are unqualified to protect ourselves from any extortion that the State (obeying the will of those who manipulate its machinery) may decree.

To do this at the risk of repeating matter already discussed I shall refer again to our experience in the sphere of education which was the subject of the last chapter, and should be still in mind, leaving it for those who are interested to find parallels and analogies in our political and economic experience.

We have seen that our system of public instruction because we have left it to doctrinaires is something quite different from what the great students of popular government, who endorsed the Declaration of Independence, had in mind when they launched the new democracy. It remains to bring out the fact that public education as we see it in operation under the superintendence of a trained pedagogic group burdens every citizen with taxes to a degree that persons qualified to look after their own interests, let alone those of the community, would not accept without examination. If a failure to buttress with evidence an assertion of facts that are supposed to be of common knowledge leaves the cautious American unconvinced, it is hoped that he will at least be led to consider whether he is exhibiting the judgment which his political forebears regarded as an essential characteristic of free men.

The *modus operandi* of public education in the United States as everyone knows is to take all the children in the country and dump them, whether fit or unfit, into a big public school machine known as a graded system. The ingathering and assorting part of this machine can be compared to a contrivance consisting of a series of sieves varying in the mesh and placed one above another. The finest mesh is at the bottom—each successive sieve has a wider mesh. The coarsest is at the top. If unsifted gravel is put in the top sieve only

the very largest particles will remain therein. The rest of the material after shaking will pass on leaving a modicum in each sieve and depositing the finest grade in the lowest receptacle.

It is not otherwise with the assorting part of our public school machine and the product which it handles. Whatever else this machine does there is no question but that it is fitted to classify the children and set apart those who can hope with advantage to themselves and the public, to remain at their books. It is also fitted to keep the people informed as to whether the youth of the country has the mental caliber which fits it for the exercise of the franchise.

Inasmuch as the information which it thus returns is of infinite importance to the people, one would suppose that it would be carefully studied and analyzed by the citizenry for the purpose of determining the outlook for their political future; for the purpose of taking steps to shape instruction so as to correct evil tendencies; and for the purpose of making appropriations. One would also suppose that confidence would be withdrawn from the architects of a system found to be worthless.

I do not understand that the returns referred to are scrutinized or that those responsible for grievous errors in administration are called to account. The people think of these matters as in the hands of the high educational authorities, and the high

educational authorities who are learned in pedagogics neither possess the political sense of the people nor realize that their first duty is to train a citizen, not to pump knowledge into a child. In any case they would not sit in judgment on themselves.

If matters were different—if democracy was functioning in the United States and voters were meeting their obligations and safeguarding their interests, they would quickly learn through the channels adverted to:

1.—That the great mass of the children of the country have no special aptitude for books or are unfitted for the accumulation of abstract information.

2.—That the majority of these children already possess faculties which will enable them to exercise reasonable political judgment if they are brought up in a suitable environment.

3.—That no training that the State can furnish will provide intellect which is lacking or supply a pupil with the common sense which many of its highly educated teachers lack.

4.—That their own income is being drawn heavily upon to keep up an elaborate system which does more harm than good.

I have perfect faith that with these findings before them the American people would draw safe and simple deductions and would thereafter take action which would extricate them from the

involved and artificial absurdities into which their schoolmen have led them. May we not rest satisfied that these deductions would embrace the following conclusions, viz.:

1.—A conclusion that it was foolish if not dangerous for them to force book-learning that was other than elementary upon children who were constitutionally unable to use it for their own benefit or the service of the State.

2.—A conclusion that moral training and the providing of fortunate environment for the youth of the country should be substituted for some of the years now misspent in the schoolroom. This would be coupled with a recognition of the fact that profitable employment which appealed to the child's natural instincts was not necessarily an evil, and might well become an avenue for training.

3.—A conclusion that they had been inexcusably foolish in heavily taxing themselves for the upkeep of an extravagant and artificial school system.

4.—A conclusion that all the mischief of past years, viz.:

a. The trend toward socialism among teachers and pupils all through the land;

b. The mishandling of a generation which is not fit to assume its inevitable political responsibilities;

c. And the waste of the people's earnings; have followed the delegation of responsibilities which a

free people cannot DELEGATE without surrendering their freedom to the specialist in education.

The great and serious trouble is that Americans do not examine the reports that come to them from school boards of various sorts; that they thus remain ignorant of conditions which it is exceedingly important that they should know, and therefore fail to realize that they are misled and mulcted. This being so, we cannot expect them to take the action in matters regarding the bringing-up of the youth that their interests require until it is too late.

Like a man who from following an excellent practice has become the slave of a habit which, unperceived by him, is undermining his system, they have fallen into the way of doing the will of men who should be their servants, not their masters.

Is it otherwise in finance or politics? I think not.

Even before the Civil War the politician had secured sufficient authority to dominate in all counsels that affected government. He expressed what was supposed to be the thought of the people, he selected their representatives for legislative and executive office, and even meddled with their judiciary.

Thus it perhaps naturally came about that he became an uncrowned monarch—both managing by craft the well-meaning folks who had resented the arrogance of king's ministers—and even lash-

ing statesmen to his chariot. Abraham Lincoln was the great American figure in affairs of State during those times, but he had also to be a great politician in order to secure the ends that he craved.

Whatever was true of him has been increasingly true of those in public office since his time who have most nearly approached him in their grasp of affairs and high motives. We have had, and have, statesmen (only a few now), but they with us pay heavy tribute to the commonplace politician who has been taking matters over to himself during the last fifty years, and who now shapes our destinies and makes us dance to the crack of his lash.

It is a patent fact, I think, that we must have politicians, and I have listened with becoming gravity to those who have sung their praises and endeavored to make it plain that without them chaos would impend; I have read Lloyd George's alleged statement that great politicians are bigger than great statesmen; but surely whatever their merit and service may be, there is no particular reason why we should turn over all our political interests into their willing hands. Nothing that most of us can note specially differentiates them—a great many of them—from the people, except that they are caught young, have an aptitude for feeding out of the public crib, and learn to accept the ultimatum of some high “muck-a-muck” who

in nine cases out of ten knows more about wire-pulling than the business of life.

These attributes are well enough in their places but we forget that the best of the politicians, whether in the affairs of a city ward or in the broader matters which affect the whole nation, are rarely the equal of the particular group of citizens with which they move, and are for the most part totally incapable of passing on affairs that affect destiny. We shall do well then if we disengage our necks from the yoke that they have deftly thrown upon us, for the times are full of peril and the Nation is perishing because of a failure to manage its own concerns. What is true of the politician is true of the financier who, perhaps, is in the last analysis not only the uncrowned king of the American people but suzerain lord of their educators and politicians.

CHAPTER V

AMERICANIZATION

NOTHING is more discouraging to those who review the outlook for democracy in the United States than the Nation's lack of corrective sense.

Prior to its birth the American colonist had faced exceeding great perils because of savage foray and European diplomacy. A ready rifle and ability to concentrate were his salvation.

During the early days of nationality the people of federated States were forced to meet a succession of internal difficulties which, ending with the Civil War, might well have caused their disruption. Their ability to meet these is explained by the experiences of the Revolution which continued vivid in their minds, and the fact that they still possessed trained leaders who were equal to the problems of a comparatively small people. Great sections could still act as a unit with a common motive and appreciation of the status.

In spite of the magnificent spirit recently exhibited by those of its young men who inherit or

have caught the spirit of the past, the Republic no longer possesses the faculty of self-protection which belonged to earlier generations. This has been effectually demonstrated by our late entry into the World War. President Wilson has been charged with failing to declare war. Whatever else may be laid at his door, the error was not his but that of the Nation. If ever since Chaos there was a moment when a free people was called upon to declare war, it came with the foul onslaught made upon a sister nation by an autocracy which impudently asserted its intention to rip up every principle that was vital to liberty.

Our unique position as the champion of democracy, our engagements under the Hague Convention, our honor, and our life were all at stake. So were our pocket-books, a fact which ought to have appealed to any commercialized State.

In the face of these cumulative reasons for action, the people were not ready for war or for preparation for war, and the Administration, whatever else it lacked, showed a shrewd sense in sizing up the deplorable blindness for which Americans will continue to pay for many a long year.

Could there be a better instance of national impotence?

As we have failed to do the obvious in external affairs so it is with matters which have to do with internal economy.

A few years ago the Archbishop of Canterbury, visiting this country, took occasion to say in effect that all Europe, all civilization was watching our extraordinary experiences in the handling of alien peoples. He added enough to make it perfectly clear that thinking people to whom the problem was of no immediate concern, believed it to be insoluble.

I make this reference to introduce the fact that our chief domestic solicitude at present arises from the character of the population of the United States which is so amazingly heterogeneous and which is under particular discussion in this book.

If the reader agrees that the status thus adverted to constitutes our greatest cause for anxiety, he will probably admit that some consideration of Americanization, the machinery which the Government with the endorsement of the people is using to meet a major dilemma, will illustrate our fitness or ineptness to meet an internal crisis.

However this may be, there is occasion to give attention to this extraordinary Americanization campaign as it not only brings into the limelight characteristics of our established citizenry and the foreign element which surrounds and invades it, but will also serve the purpose of this chapter.

Americanization is, as has been shrewdly observed by a sociologist of standing who might be expected to advocate such a plan of procedure,

“Something done to somebody by somebody else.”

It took its beginnings neither from insistent pressure brought to bear on the legislative by the people, nor from the initiative of a legislative committee, but with a department of the National Government which has not been oversagacious in its interpretation of our political principles and distinctly by group suggestion.

Its appeal, which was that of the Government, was to public schools, chambers of commerce, patriotic societies, and loyal citizens.

Its frank purpose was to make the foreigner into an American, and, presumably because it sounded patriotic, at once enlisted as its agents many thousands of good citizens who had been engaged in war work, and generously sought to give further proof of their devotion to the country.

Under such auspices it soon swept far beyond the limit that Know-nothingism reached in its time. Americanization or Americanism committees were installed in cities and villages throughout the land. Some of these operated independently, others identified with existing organizations testified to the desire of the latter to assist in dealing with a recognized peril. Thus the Young Men's Christian Association used the phrase in connection with its splendid industrial work; the American Legion arranged to push its patriotic work under the title of Americanization or Americanism, and even

state governments and religious denominations gave the movement official endorsement.

Americanization became, and I regret to say, is the watchword of the hour, and even those who protest the phrase—I speak advisedly because of presumed action—have been compelled to in some degree accept the Shibboleth or leave the impression that they were lacking in patriotism.

There is certainly, therefore, ground for my claim that Americans as a whole realize that the surplusage of foreigners or people with foreign traditions presents an issue that must be handled, and that the majority of the best Americans have selected Americanization as the proper method of dealing with a question that is in the highest degree puzzling.

It follows that if it is shown that Americanization is not a suitable way of dealing with this great problem, the whole circumstance or adventure will serve to illustrate how unfortunate the Nation can be in handling a serious proposition.

I claim that Americanization is not a suitable way of handling a bad situation which it is supposed to correct:

- 1.—Because of its vagueness.
- 2.—Because it suggests patronage or superiority on the part of those exercising the process.
- 3.—Because it is coercive and at odds with the traditions of the Republic.

4.—Because of abundant facts showing that it is resented by the persons to be Americanized.

5.—Because of its results which should have been foreseen.

1.—During my first journey to Europe in 1886 I not only met Brazilians, Venezuelans, Mexicans, and residents of Argentina, who claimed to be Americans, but frequently heard such fellow-travelers spoken of by Europeans as Americans. Accustomed as I was to the home use of the phrase as indicating a citizen of the United States, the experience was somewhat surprising and disturbing. While it settled nothing, it evidenced the fact that the people of Europe used the phrase in a sense different from the one with which I was familiar, and were inclined to speak of all people coming from the Western Hemisphere as Americans.

Since the days adverted to I have glanced at many interesting papers upon the general subject and long since came to the definite conclusion that the people of the United States commit no impropriety in claiming the title of Americans and holding it against all parties. Meanwhile, I find it difficult to reconcile the fact that they have selected the title for a patriotic campaign which they know must be confusing and misleading to the people whose status is to be affected by their effort.

Passing this point another query occurs to me. What do we mean ourselves when we talk of Americanization, and what does the foreigner, who grasps the fact that we desire to turn him into a citizen of this country, think we mean?

Am I not right in concluding that the Americanizer who has advanced sociological views desires to make his or her victim an advanced social thinker? In fact that every propagandist, whatever his complexion of mind, expects that the person operated upon in his Americanization efforts will reflect his idea of what it is to be an American.

If this is so, the extreme radical who exercises the franchise, but who looks forward to a Soviet state, is seeking in his Americanization campaign for converts to such a state, and the ultra-conservative, who believes that individualism is for him alone, and not for the crowd, is endeavoring to snare persons whose votes he can command for his own purposes.

As a result we have a hundred cults within the Nation, each doing Americanization work for the object of their own cult. It may be well enough to join parties with widely divergent views in cases like those which have to do with hygiene, good morals, etc., where persons of various political creeds can unite without surrendering their principles. But the Americanization campaign is not one of these cases and the joinder of Soviet Americans and the like with constitutional Ameri-

cans indicates that one group or the other group has abandoned its principles.

We are facing a great and acknowledged exigency, and patriotic people are endeavoring to provide for the perpetuation of the Republic. Nothing can be gained and much must be lost by a failure to state the purpose of any endeavor to this end with absolute clearness.

It is quite true that those who seek to win new recruits to the support of the Federal Constitution might lose the support of millions of their fellow-citizens by insisting upon clarity of statement, but their efforts would not only produce solidarity and enthusiasm, but would tend to clear the air and inform them regarding conditions in their own neighborhoods which may well give cause for apprehension.

Meantime, I believe that the Americanization campaign is not only likely to thwart the designs of those who are loyal to American traditions, but is actually enlisting their unwitting support in movements with which they have no sympathy.

If Americanization has widely different meanings to various groups of citizens who are engaged in the movement, it will not surprise us to learn that the term carries a hundred meanings to the foreigner.

To the submerged, who views the over-dressed and bejewelled bowery boy, who has secured the right to vote, as a product of Americanization, it

means flash and glitter. To the hard-working, slow-thinking peasant who digs our sewers and performs tedious labor required by public works and manufacturing enterprises, it means rush and clamor and everything that is enterprising but unlovely. To various radicals it means the submission of mind and spirit to the exactions of capitalism, and it takes on innumerable complexions according to the racial background and American environment of the immigrant.

Being open, therefore, to such various interpretations it puts every group which is engaged in the far-reaching movement at an immediate and perplexing disadvantage. Is it not extraordinary that a people that is wedded to business methods should lack the business sense to appreciate this?

2.—If we as a commercial nation have selected an obscure phrase in our endeavor to secure a defined result, it is not surprising that we have also shown ourselves devoid of tact. Unfortunately, failure to sense the proprieties in the Americanization campaign or in other matters is just as expensive as a business blunder. It is well enough for us to err in everything which has to do with the amenities of social intercourse when it comes to matters which affect ourselves alone because as a people we are not over-susceptible to the niceties of polite discourse. Meanwhile, the quick-witted among us ought to appreciate that even the strangely-clad, heavy-footed alien, who comes

from the rural sections of southern and eastern Europe, is exceedingly quick in matters which have to do with certain basic proprieties and is more quickly reached where action and phrase is courteous even if disingenuous than when it is abrupt and lacks the sort of consideration which his *amour propre* demands.

If the leaders in the Americanization enterprise had given fair attention to facts, they would have taken the foreigner's temperament into consideration and would have avoided offending the persons whom they sought to reach. Let us suppose, however, that they are excusable for not understanding conditions as they exist, on the ground that a mere political question is of subsidiary importance to a business one. What shall we say in regard to their failure to realize that human nature, American as well as European, dislikes patronage, and is repelled by the intimation that it lacks something possessed by those who are attempting its reformation.

In the beginning of this chapter I called attention to an apt definition of Americanization which is described as being "something done to somebody by somebody else."

Is it not singular that American people in launching the Americanization campaign overlooked the fact that no human being likes to have something done to him willy-nilly, even if it be for his own good; that human beings automatically

put themselves in an attitude of defiance when the thing that is to be done to them is done by fellow-mortals, and that they are particularly sensitive when somebody else, who is behind the reform, does not hesitate to frankly and ingenuously assume superiority.

3.—I can understand how an African slave-dealer might say to a shackled chain-gang, "It is perfectly clear to me that you prefer to share Africa with the beasts of the jungle, but it suits my purpose to have you hew wood and carry water for the cotton-raising planters of the United States."

I can also understand how a State Minister of the old school could say to a subject people, "I apprehend that it would be agreeable to you if you could manage your own affairs, but I prefer to direct those affairs myself"; or how the manager of many sweat shops could say to his perspiring victims, "I am conscious that you would rather secure shorter hours, or more pay, but it is profitable for me to make other arrangements for you."

In these various cases—the slave-dealer, the Minister of State, the sweat-shop keeper—regards himself as an autocrat, and if we accept his premises, can logically defend his position.

I cannot understand how any American, who subscribes to a rationally interpreted Declaration of Independence and to other state papers which are supposed to recite the convictions of a Nation, can join in a campaign to "do something to some-

body else" when the subject of his endeavor properly resents his good offices.

"Independence" used to be a watchword, and it carried with it the thought that while we should be quick to assert our own independence, we should never be found lacking in sympathy with other persons who subscribed to similar declarations.

Are we not worse than hypocritical when we attempt (as do many communities and individual employers of labor) to coerce foreigners into citizenship, or to exert undue pressure upon a person who has indicated no desire to cast in his lot with us?

What reason under the sun can be given for our interfering with the regulated movement through the States of such people as we choose to admit within our gates? We are at liberty at any time to refuse them admittance or to curtail their period of residence. Unless we are blinded by a desire to secure their assistance in some political scheme for our own advancement or that of our party, we know perfectly well that induction into citizenship of those who do not come quite freely of themselves, instead of being a benefit is a hurt to the state.

There is no reason to apprehend that we shall have difficulty at any time in securing such temporary labor as we need from across seas. Why then this strange, inconsistent effort to enroll myriads of unfit aliens in our citizenry?

4.—More than ten years ago social outbreaks in various cities of the United States brought home to the social workers in such centers the fact that the people in the foreign colonies were not only very human but that they were also exceedingly temperamental. Efforts had been made by kindly disposed people in these centers to acquaint certain racial groups with American customs and institutions. Not only had attractive lectures been staged at a considerable expense, but centers had been opened for the entertainment and instruction of the alien. For the support of their welfare work humane manufacturers erected club houses in centers of recreation. In the great industrial cities opportunities were offered the foreigner to display his or her handicraft and take part in pageants, which gave them an opportunity to wear their national costumes and sing their national songs. For the most part these efforts were directed by people who were well acquainted with the alien, and who knew what to avoid and what to encourage in their endeavor to get closer to him.

Notwithstanding the purity of purpose and the exceeding care with which such work was directed, it led to vituperation and scurrilous abuse in the foreign press and to numerous meetings of protest in which the remonstrants did not hesitate to state their position. In substance these were to the same effect, viz., that the European in America had his own culture, his own language, his

own customs, his own traditions, and that he was satisfied with these. While he recognized the good intentions of those who sought to divorce him from all that he was familiar with, he felt it to be no virtue to disguise the fact that such activities as were then popular were an intrusion upon his privacy, an invasion of his personal rights, and a distinct impertinence.

As a consequence of these arguments which were frequently forcefully put, more than one beautiful hall, which was erected at a considerable expense for the benefit of non-English-speaking people, was vacated. Conscientious workers in the colonies found themselves without a following, and there was general dismay.

It would seem as if this experience would have put Americans upon their guard. Intelligent persons among them who had attempted the work of assimilation, had developed the extreme sensitiveness of the foreigner and at the same time had given him a chance to register his emphatic objection against being Americanized.

Incidents of the sort referred to had also given thinking people an opportunity for reconsideration. Such persons, putting themselves in the foreigner's place, although for the most part of a less mercurial Anglo-Saxon temperament, could not help acknowledging that if they had been resident in Italy or Germany, they would have deprecated, if not bitterly objected to, any attempt

to Italianize or Germanize them. This too, in spite of the fact that they may have already formed an affection for the country which had provided them with a home.

How can we reconcile our knowledge of such incidents as are thus briefly touched upon and the following enlightenment, with the launching of an Americanization program in which uninformed people knowing nothing of the susceptibilities of the non-English-speaking population, are attempting to crowd the latter by law, ordinance, and personal endeavor into citizenship.

As I review the extraordinarily disastrous movements that have followed the appeal of the Federal Department of Education, I recall the impatience shown by an eminent prelate in bringing to my attention certain missionary work which was being carried on by social workers in a well-behaved foreign section of a great metropolitan city. It seems that in this particular instance women with an aptitude for slumming had gone into an Italian community which was occupied by persons of small means but of considerable refinement, and had endeavored to substitute for things that were artistic but foreign, furnishings that were as ugly as they were American.

It happened that the prelate in question, who not only knew the foreign people in his own diocese but had lived long in Europe, added to breadth of mind and sympathy, an understanding of na-

tional cults which enabled him to diagnose the situation. He found it difficult to express his aversion not only to the attitude of the slummers, which was that of superiority, but to the specific reforms that they were initiating, which were in bad taste and repellent.

"Why," he asked, "do these people of little taste insult the sensibilities of inoffensive foreigners? They come from European surroundings which contain marvels of artistic achievement, and they belong to a race which is keenly sensitive to such impressions as were provided by their environment. Some of the poorest among them have a deeper appreciation of form, color and music than any of the people who are now patronizing them."

The attempt which these missionaries and social workers are making, as they suppose in the interests of happy reform, not only fails of its object but subjects them to the sort of contempt which will prove a barrier to further intercourse.

I have adverted to a single instance to illustrate a situation. To my mind the Americanization movement has not only failed to secure the object which its promoters had in mind, but it has had the effect of making the Nation ridiculous in the eyes of those who are supposed to be benefited.

5.—The results are everywhere apparent. Individuals who were not ill-disposed toward rational overtures which looked to their improvement but

which carefully avoided every suggestion of patronage, are dropping out of educational classes which have adopted the Americanization program. Foreign publicists and patriotic agents who admire our democratic principles, and who were in the way of securing a following among the foreign groups with which they are in touch have lost their prestige. Racial societies are putting themselves on record as prepared to fight American claims of superiority. Foreign workmen are up in arms and the whole heaving, restless mass of non-English-speaking labor, persuaded that Americanization is nothing more nor less than an attempt on the part of capitalism to secure a strangle hold upon them, are expressing their scorn and hatred for the persons who are behind the movement.

I am fortunate in being able to give a concrete example to illustrate the manner in which this unhappy endeavor to relieve ourselves from a serious embarrassment has befogged a threatened situation. At the close of the Great War it will be remembered that revolutionary forces in the United States—whether or not aroused by Soviet agents, set themselves to overturn the industrial system or at least feel out their own strength. Three or four industrial centers in the United States were selected as the battleground. In the chief of these which secured unenviable publicity because of the fierceness with which sometime workers now on

strike assailed the employing class, there occurred a series of demonstrations which were alarming in their magnitude and character.

To meet the rhetorical assaults of a great number of radical speakers who hastened into this municipality in order to stir up the crowd and fit it for aggressive revolutionary action, a number of Americanization agents endorsed by the Government or societies directly coöperating therewith were put upon the lyceum platform. Among these was a man of great power whose name had the effect of filling the hall in which he was scheduled to speak. Such was his reputation that at the beginning of his address, which was placatory in its character, he received respectful attention. Lured by this seeming willingness of the audience to accept his proposition the speaker hastened to adapt his Americanization vocabulary to what he believed to be the need of the hour, painted the glories of the United States, touched upon the high points in its history, glorified its industrial achievements, asserted its claim to leadership, and pointed to the success of its arms in the battlefields of France and Flanders. Almost immediately the huge audience was astir, groans and hisses broke the preceding silence and various individuals attempted to reach the platform. One of these, an agitator of notoriety, whose commanding voice and fiery temper permitted him to dominate the situation, not only interrupted the

Americanizer but actually crowded him out of his place on the platform amid the wild plaudits of the crowd. This done, in sentences which boiled with wrath and resentment, he insisted that the speaker of the evening was an agent of capitalism and had proved himself so by his address. Americanization, he insisted, was an expression of the contempt which Americans had for all foreign people, and voiced their determination to reduce all such to their own purposes. Americanization meant a widening of the gap between the classes, dominance of the employer and the peonage and enslavement of the worker. If the Americanization campaign was permitted to continue the free spirits of Italy, Poland and Russia now resident in America would first lose their independence by coming under the jurisdiction of the American courts which were the agencies of rich American autocrats. This accomplished, nothing but peonage could be expected. America claimed to be the land of the free, but as everyone knew had become the instrument of a tyrannous group of autocrats, who used the people as their tool. If European workers in America's industrial cities were not alert they would be Americanized into perpetual servitude. And so on *ad nauseam* until the great crowd, which in the beginning had been slow to align itself with the strikers, had become earnest partisans.

While this may be an extreme instance to illustrate the manner in which Americanization defeats

its own ends, it reflects the reaction which the campaign has had upon the foreign mind.

For many years now the major part of the alien masses colonized among us have been nursing their wrath because of their experiences on this side of the water. Never forgetting the manner in which they were victimized after landing, they vividly recall the various labor wars in which they or their friends have been involved through what they believe to be the cupidity of the employing class. If they have not actually suffered some hurt from the workings of a system which they do not understand, they were long since persuaded by radical agencies to believe that the lines of cleavage which divide them from the English-speaking population have been fixed by the American people, or those who dictate the policy of that people.

Sensitive beyond expression to ridicule and disdain, they know that they are contemptuously characterized as dagoes and wops. Is it not passing strange that we should expect them to do other than to view with sullen uneasiness and impatience the invitation in which their oppressors request them to become like unto themselves? Evidently the Educational Department of the National Government, as well as various state bureaus think not, because they are not only pushing Americanization, but are giving it a coercive tang. Evidently the manufacturer, who has been issuing

curt and Man-handling intimations that if the foreigners in his employ do not become Americanized they will lose their jobs, thinks not.

Evidently the American people, as far as they have been permitted to give themselves expression, think not, or long before this they would have put an end to such ill-conceived designs to rescue them from the predicament into which they have gone open-eyed.

CHAPTER VI

CORRUPT AGENTS

WHILE the absorption of Americans in other than political matters largely explains their failure to appreciate the complications which are being forced upon them by the presence of alien peoples, there are other influences which work to the same end.

One of the most dangerous of these is the foreigner who, after satisfying the well-meaning people of his district that he has become Americanized, and offering himself as an interpreter and counsellor, wilfully misleads them.

I do not hesitate to say that most of these volunteers are undependable although I hasten to couple the statement with two assertions:

1.—That the average respectable foreigner is either absorbed in his own concerns or does not think himself fitted for community work, and should not be confused with his shifty compatriots whom he regards with suspicion.

2.—That if it were not for the assistance of a comparatively few high-minded foreigners, who also

go into public work on their own initiative, constructive Americans who are seeking to better relations with the non-English-speaking public could do little. Among these latter are many who compare favorably with the American of the highest type.

A circumstance which happened to me more than twelve years ago first opened my eyes to the undependability of the volunteer who has not undergone rigid scrutiny and cross-examination. Although at that time I was informed that many of the foreign-speaking intermediaries, who were preying upon incoming immigrants, were also representatives of various American societies, I did not appreciate the impudent audacity of which they were capable until I made the acquaintance of a young Russian, who came under observation as one of a group of foreigners who was taking the evening courses of a vigorous and important Y. M. C. A. Invited with others to form a club for self-betterment and for the instruction of his own people, this young fellow was not only helpful, but exceedingly efficient. Although he was not more than eighteen years of age and had been but a short time resident in the United States, he spoke English with a charm which added to his attractiveness and with a facility which was extraordinary. There was no question as to his capability. He was handsome, upstanding and tactful. He knew his own people and could tell of their

methods of living in Europe with a winning naïveté. This made him most acceptable as a speaker when it was desirable to bring American audiences in touch with an informed foreigner whose experiences and observation fitted him to provide them with information. He was recognized as a leader by the Slavs of the section in which he lived and appeared to be as busy in helping them unravel their difficulties as he was in assisting welfare workers to handle their own particular problem.

Enabled through his good offices to come to a better understanding of a situation which I had found extremely perplexing, I encouraged the advances which made it possible for him to interest me in his personal career. Small loans of money for his accommodation followed, the process continuing until a series of happenings developed the fact that my foreign friend was involved in various matters which were very much to his discredit, and that he had little sense of honor. I remember the chagrin with which I learned that one who was so entirely prepossessing was untrustworthy and therefore unworthy of the confidence which had been bestowed upon him.

Almost coincident with this experience came another which was less aggravating but which in itself was exceedingly instructive. An Austrian man of good appearance and who not only spoke English like a native but was the master of vari-

ous languages, came to me from people of importance to solicit assistance in matters which he was undertaking for the relief of his own people. He had been in the employ of a steamship agency and was not only in a position to provide data which made it possible to stop certain vicious practices which were being investigated, but was a mine of information in regard to the tricks and machinations in vogue among exploiters who made a business of fleecing the immigrant.

Among other confidences, however, while posing as a penitent, he told stories of his past life with a frankness which he presumably thought would care for any attack which might be made upon his record but which had the effect of forewarning his interrogators.

I recall that he set out in a very picturesque way the low grade morals which exist among the business men of a certain sort in the European section from which he came, and the manner in which public officials on the other side of the water are inclined to scalp a profit from every transaction in which they are involved.

It appeared that he was in a special position to give evidence in regard to malfeasances because of the manner in which he had participated, although he now held himself out to be a reformed man. This fact, together with ingenuous reasons for deserting a wife and family in the old country, made it quite impossible for me to show him the

confidence to which he felt he was entitled. Meanwhile, it gave me an opportunity to watch the movements of one who shortly proved himself to be an intriguer.

Failing in his endeavor to push through the enterprise for which he had been soliciting aid in the city of Boston, this man disappeared from view for a time, but shortly turned up as an agent of a group that was active in the Connecticut Valley where many Polish families are domiciled.

The line of business which engaged his attention in that section was, as is true of many of the operations of the exploiting foreigner, novel and quite outside of the experience of the average American.

Conscious of the fact that a large number of the young men who at that time were coming into the country from the military states of Europe had emigrated for the sole purpose of securing military exemption and were unhappy because of the self-enforced separation from their families, he and his associates arranged to turn this situation to profit. Accordingly they prepared attractive advertisements which, without betraying the machinators brought to the attention of a desired clientele the readiness of the office through which they worked to assist young men to secure military exemption. To an American the whole proposition would have appeared preposterous, simply because he would not have known the peculiar conditions existing in certain public de-

partments in Europe. (It may be well to interject at this point the query whether or not ignorance in regard to basic conditions which shape the motives and movements of foreigners is not responsible for the way in which our people blunder in all matters which affect the alien.) To the foreigner the scheme was not without merit and entirely practicable. If he needed services of the advertisers and was willing to pay their price for offered accommodation, he knew that as far as foreign government bureaus were concerned a way could be found to carry out any practicable proposition. What he failed to take into consideration was the fact that however corrupt bureau agents might be and however willing to earn a little money at the cost of the home government they were generally shrewd enough to avoid a part in any enterprise which would be likely to expose them to punishment of the severest sort.

If the candidate for extortion had thought the matter through far enough to give such facts the attention they deserved, he would probably have gone farther and questioned the value of any exemption certificate which must in the nature of things be under constant inspection by inquisitive and sometimes honest functionaries.

The dealers in this curious sort of merchandise perfectly understood the psychology of their victims and possessed an intimate understanding of their limitations. They therefore set out in a

specious manner that while the service they were performing was a difficult one, it would be made possible by the coöperation of friends in Europe, whose importance and connection with the highest authorities assured the recipient of the certificate against molestation. They offered in return for a comparatively small fee of two or three hundred dollars to secure a review of the applicant's record if this was necessary, and to personally supervise every step that would be necessary to make him immune, as far as military service was concerned.

Just how large the response to their overtures was is unknown. Certain it is that they were sufficiently successful in the Connecticut Valley to make the matter a public scandal and permanently smirch the character of all those who had taken part in the fraud.

This line of activity being summarily cut off my whilom interviewer became the confidential agent of banking enterprises which were without repute, until he had worked enough mischief to secure some notoriety. Inasmuch as this blocked the plans of those whose designs required a character for probity he disappeared from the field which had had his principal attention to presently appear as the steward or fiscal agent of a coterie which had bought up the right to furnish immigrants just entering port with whatever they needed in the way of victuals and sustenance—a public service

which enabled them to make exorbitant charges and reap a substantial revenue.

The reader will readily appreciate how acquaintance with a character—popular among well-fare workers—like the one which has been just described, formed as it was during the period in which I was awaking to the true character of the little Russian of Y. M. C. A. connections, was of educative value.

Since those days I regret to say that I have had many experiences with such intriguers and have been almost constantly in a position to know the manner in which the confidence of philanthropic societies, individuals, and even government departments has been abused by them. While it would take a volume to review these experiences I shall narrate one which beautifully illustrates the versatility of the conscienceless foreigner and his ability to play many parts.

In the winter of —— I was invited to be one of a large circle entertained at dinner by an eminent philanthropist. Among those present were gentlemen of high standing in commercial circles and distinguished by public service.

The matter which was brought to our attention had to do with the betterment of newcomers to the United States and the guests were privileged to listen to several eloquent appeals from men of talent who had had long experience in winning the sympathy of an audience.

After these had spoken a young Lithuanian was introduced as a fair representative of the ambitious class of immigrants who were endeavoring to better themselves and were not unmindful of the needs of their people.

Up to that time I do not think I had ever listened to a more successful appeal than was made by this speaker. Although a mere boy and only partially trained as a college undergraduate the man at once showed himself to be an orator of surprising ability. He was impassioned but knew how to avoid any excess which might be ascribed to temperament. He was clear, logical, convincing, careful of his facts, and fully conscious that he was addressing men of affairs who had wide experience and would be impatient with platitudes. Although he was speaking for some time there was no one at the table who was not surprised and disappointed when he finished. The applause that followed his address was prolonged and honest, bringing him again and again to his feet. I recall that the gentleman to whom I sat next, the president of a corporation employing many thousands of operatives, turned to me with the remark that the boy would go far and have few peers. This I think was the consensus of opinion. Since the date adverted to the extraordinary character who registered so effectively thereupon has been constantly before public audiences of all sorts and kinds and never fails to make an impres-

sion where he is unknown. Meantime, if evidence which is cumulative can be relied upon, he has consistently betrayed every confidence that has been reposed in him. Hardly had the echoes of the after-dinner speaking above referred to died away, when the president of a prominent Lithuanian society put into my hands a typewritten statement containing fifty or sixty pages which brought the record of this surprising youth up to the day of presentation. While I then hesitated to believe that the boy had committed all the alleged misfeasances which were therein laid at his door and still doubt their entire reliability, later and better acquaintance with him has led me to conclude that no sense of honor would prevent him from committing any breach of faith.

The story as presented in this manuscript introduced the youth as a protégé of a priest in Pittsburgh who cared for his education, saw to it that he was grounded in the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and watched over his welfare with zealous care, until he learned that his pupil notwithstanding an expressed affection for and attendance upon the services of the Church in which he had been trained was spending many of his evenings in work for the Y. M. C. A. Here it was learned that he was testing his elocutionary powers by calling upon groups to whom he was sent to scrutinize and reject the principles of the Roman Catholic communion. There was no suspicion or sugges-

tion that his employers knew of his double dealing or suspected that he was other than a self-convinced convert to the Protestant religion. Such were the beginnings of a course in duplicity which fairly stagger the American with a regard for truth because it not only displays extraordinary viciousness but discloses a field for operation far more extensive than one unacquainted with conditions affecting our foreign population can imagine.

While the memory readily places these as initial events in this strange career, subsequent happenings are more or less confused in my mind. I know that at one juncture he was under arrest for serious misdemeanor—that he was charged in that connection with perjury. I know also that in due course he aroused the righteous indignation of various religious societies with which he maintained a certain fellowship, because of his relations with socialist groups and with advanced anarchist thinkers. One fails to understand how he could have maintained the different parts in which he masqueraded. Now he is the darling of important coteries among the Lithuanians. Again he is representing prominent societies and holding high office by their franchise. But hardly has he reached a point of high responsibility before he becomes discredited and an outcast from racial groups with which he has been allied. All this time he is developing his powers for intrigue, mastering language, and becoming an adept in its use.

As such he is much in request at meetings of protest held under the auspices of the enemies of law and order. He is a revolutionist, an agitator, an enemy of society, and yet at the same time he does not hesitate when opportunity offers to appear as the representative of social workers or to address church audiences who have heard of his eloquence. He assures these latter that he is himself a conservative, and is working hard to outflank the Lithuanian group which is known to be socialistic in philosophy.

I have said that the narrative thus brought to my attention was accepted with a grain of salt. I knew that feeling runs high among various cliques which strive for mastery of the innumerable societies which hold together our foreign population. While this material came to me from the hands of one for whom I have high regard, it was difficult to accept the extraordinary tale without a feeling that it might contain fabrications invented by an enemy. This was because I did not know my man. Since then doings of the subject of this attack have been recurrently coming to my attention, and I now know that there is no question but that whether or not he was then treated unjustly he is capable of the extravagances charged against him. No one I think requires closer watching in these days when Soviet propaganda is inflaming the minds of the populace, than this educated Lithuanian.

It is a regrettable fact that any one who has much to do with alien peoples in America could continue to cite instances in which agents used by American societies and workers as intermediaries in uplift work have abused their confidence. Those given above should be sufficient to acquaint the reader with a situation which is altogether deplorable, but which must be taken into consideration if we are to visualize the difficulties which block well-meaning efforts in assimilating or handling the non-English-speaking people of this country.

The inquirer who seeks to inform himself in regard to points of contact between the American and the alien is not long in finding first—how exceedingly difficult it is to find responsible foreigners who also have the qualities which make it possible for them to render service as agents; second—that a great number of the people actually employed by the churches, by settlement houses, by the authorities, and by societies working toward corrective ends are unacceptable to the groups among which they are supposed to work, and third—that a large proportion of volunteers who are at their disposal have had a rare training in duplicity if they have not actually been participants in schemes which are operated to defraud the immigrant.

Such an inquirer will be disturbed by the lack of material, amazed at the use of foreigners who

are *personæ non gratae* among their own people, and alarmed when he notes the insidious way in which corrupt individuals are working into positions of responsibility. Meantime he and we have to do with grim realities, and it is unfortunate that as a people we are doing nothing to train responsible agents who can speak other languages than English.

This is the only way out of an exceedingly difficult position. As a Nation we decline to take it, being satisfied on the one hand to use men whose religious prejudices or whose record as agents of the police authorities bar them from intercourse with the race from which they spring, or on the other hand to permit ourselves to be fooled and cajoled by persons who would gladly lead us to ruin.

Is it not difficult to avoid the extraordinary conclusion that we are both willing to be led astray, and to foster agencies for our undoing?

CHAPTER VII

NATURALIZATION

IMMENSE mischief is being done in the United States by unwise naturalization.

If our boasted educational system were worth anything, it would have produced sufficient intelligence in the electorate to provide for its own perpetuity. Far from doing this it has developed an inclination to solve difficulties by temporary expedients which enhance rather than diminish the Nation's embarrassment.

No better instance of its foolhardiness can be cited than is furnished by the impulse given to the naturalization of strangers by the authorities at Washington and by mistaken coteries in every part of the Republic.

This not only smacks of national ignorance regarding the laws of cause and effect—it hints at a lack of judgment.

I have referred to the internal complications which greed, jealousy, and the deadly sins to which flesh is heir have sowed broadly through the country. It must be obvious to all that these

problems are so nearly inextricable as to have confused the most sagacious leaders that are available.

Even the half-witted might be supposed at such a juncture to avoid new perplexities and to mark time until a way out appeared. Not so the American people! With a half-savage but voting negro population in the South—with a third of their existing personnel still unassimilated—and with a foreign invasion flooding the land—they fairly court new political dilemmas. One of these has been the extension of the suffrage without taking care in justice to the recipient or themselves to accompany the same with primary instruction.

A greater and most heinous offense has been the invitation to aliens to join the electorate; an invitation which I regret to say has not infrequently been accompanied by a kick into forced citizenship.

If this is not national wickedness it nearly qualifies as such. Centuries have passed since Jesus said—"It is not meet to take the children's bread and to cast it to dogs," and the world generally concedes this truism. Notwithstanding this fact great multitudes of people in this country appear eager not only to wreck the future of their own children, but to blast the hopes of men and women born in other lands who reverence our principles and desire to cast in their lot with us.

So atrocious is this betrayal of trust that one recoils from the recitation. The American de-

mocracy through its Constitution and Bill of Rights guarantees life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness to its members—strictly, because of the inevitable working of law,—on condition that they maintain every requirement of self-government.

This condition, virile, necessitous, and inexorable, shuts out the base, the ignorant, and the undisciplined.

Nowwithstanding these truths which are simple, and readily perceived, and notwithstanding the fact that mistaken policies will automatically place unsympathetic strangers in control of our homes and shops, we continue to foul our own nest by urging naturalization.

That this is imprudent will appear from any study of the foreign population which is in occupancy of our industrial centers.

Reference to the returns of the Federal Immigration Bureau shows that nearly twice as many men as women come into our ports in any normal year; the majority of these men have received military training, and if admitted to citizenship before their worth is established, may be expected to become a dangerous element in time of civil dissension.

These returns further show that the greater part of immigrating men and women are of ages which will permit them to qualify for citizenship in a short period.

In the year 1914, 981,692 of those who passed examination at the docks out of a total of 1,218,480 were between the ages of fourteen and forty-five.

Such data, if carefully studied, leads us inevitably to the conclusion that foreign-born persons of voting age now in the industrial sections of this country far outnumber the voters of native-born or native and foreign parentage. It is true all these foreigners have not yet been naturalized, but it is not the fault of shallow-minded Americans.

To this number every normal year promises to bring a greater accession of strength through immigration to the foreign group than can possibly accrue to the so-called native element, which is more and more a hybrid quality because the birth rate among citizens of foreign or mixed parentage far exceeds that among citizens of full native parentage.

One does not have to be a mathematician to come to the conclusion that it will require very little of the sort of pernicious activity now so prevalent, to put that part of the electorate which is more or less acquainted with the traditions of the American democracy into a hopeless minority.

Why then this enthusiasm for naturalization? Is it self-abnegation, or humanism? Surely not the former, our conceit would not permit that. Probably not the latter, although our educational fallacies make this explanation reasonable.

A far safer answer, and one that can be sup-

ported by facts without number, has been already suggested. Infinite greed; impatience like that ascribed to the heathen Gods with any obstacle that blocks present achievement, and a colossal stupidity!

As has been suggested, the average American is a business man, with a business man's fondness for immediate profits. Sometimes he masquerades in academic gown and sometimes in army or navy uniform, but generally he wears business clothes. He votes because bad business legislation may retrench his earnings. He obeys the law from a respect for order, and he fights when he learns that the interest of the country, family, or his goods require him to fight. He loves the flag and has a vague idea what it stands for. He is perhaps quicker to spring to its defense than were his immediate forebears, because of pride in its glory, but he will not think things through which smack of philosophy or which are less tangible than dollars and cents or authoritative call to action.

This trend of mind leads to superficialism and a disposition to base conclusions upon insufficient facts. Fortunately he has sense of humor enough to recognize that this is stupid just as he knows that he is often greedy and impatient.

Let us see how this diagnosis fits the status—looking to the American of affairs—in time of peace and in time of war—for examples.

There is not a factory town in the United States

which employs unskilled foreign labor but which is frequently plagued by the mobility of the working force upon which it depends. In times of business activity there is a shortage of labor. In times of business stagnation, there is an excess of labor. Meantime whether there be an insufficiency or a surplus the non-English speaking employee refuses to assume ordinary responsibilities, and is generally neglectful of other interests than those that concern himself. Thus, when the managers of big and little business believe that outside conditions favor their making some substantial addition to their earnings they find that foreign agitators have been busy among their people engineering a demand for increased wage. Strikes and increased costs follow, and not infrequently a large portion of the employed force packs up and leaves town when most needed. This is more than amazing—it is irritating.

Hard as such conditions are to bear however, they are not as paralyzing as those which accompany bad times. These find corporation heads at wits end to arrange for sufficient work to return a living wage to the thousands of people dependent upon them. Hospitals are full, bread lines are stringing the streets with their long queues and all sorts of welfare relief is being planned, but do what the employers may, the foreign mass is dull, non-coöperative, helpless, with a disposition to turn to the agitator for assistance. They have

had good wages in the past and have spent them ineffectually or forwarded gold to Europe. They have no interest in the mills or the community in which they live, and they yet demand that they be clothed, fed, and housed. If their demands are not satisfied, they threaten.

To say that such experiences are trying, is to put it mildly. Frequently they are maddening. It follows that the business man seeks for a remedy.

This lies in curtailment; in restricted output; in a return to small things; but conscious that his adoption of what seems an ultra-conservative policy may be rendered ineffective by the lack of coöperation on the part of other industrial leaders, and trained to be aggressive rather than prudent, this course is rejected as impracticable.

In so doing the American capitalist makes a mistake. Probably those of us who criticize would do the same thing if we were in his place, especially if we were not altogether responsible for the complications in which we are involved. It is always easier to point out the way than to follow in the safe path.

Something must be done, however, and having decided to hold his ground, the manufacturer must find a way out. It is in this temper that the man who is insufficiently informed in regard to political principles has turned to naturalization as a means of stabilizing his foreign labor, bringing it more directly under domestic law, perhaps

waking a dormant sentiment of patriotism, and making it a participant in community problems.

Of course this is like jumping from the frying pan into the fire! but the tortured victim does not realize it. Bothered already by unwise state legislation, and nagging municipal ordinances which reflect the will of a somewhat hostile electorate, he arranges so that the majorities in favor of schemes which he deprecates shall be doubled if not trebled.

Apprehensive as to the future of his vested interests because he knows of the influence which the proletarian leader has over his employees, he makes it possible for revolutionary labor to do lawfully through the ballot that which it could not do otherwise without defiance of law.

In all this the manufacturer is of course hopelessly foolish and not unlike the hypothetical case of a man who saves a would-be incendiary from troublesome activity by setting fire to his own house. The extraordinary thing about the whole matter is that he is so blind as not to recognize his fatuity. I have endeavored to partially explain this by noting the involved character of the problem and the disposition of the American business man to adopt measures which come to his attention through respectable channels without proper study or consideration. It is proper now to give an instance of the sort of influence which has advocated

forced naturalization. I therefore quote in part from a letter dated January 14, 1921, which bears the printed signature of one of the leading Chambers of Commerce in the United States, and which in its matter is [not particularly different from similar literature which, sometimes endorsed by government agencies, sometimes by Boards of Trade and other so-called business aggregations, has for some years been widely distributed through the country.

The particular communication referred to, after stating that America is the melting pot of the world, intimating that the vast majority who enter our ports accept American principles and lead industrious and thrifty lives, and suggesting that their example should be followed by those yet to come and now in the country who are not citizens—goes on to say:

With all the opportunities for free education and with the many agencies for aiding in Americanizing the newcomers, it would seem that practically none would hesitate to claim the citizenship which the United States offers to all who are worthy. That there is a substantial number, who have not availed themselves of this privilege, cannot be denied. To impress upon this class the vital necessity of becoming Americans as promptly as possible seems a duty which the business man in every line should accept as a patriotic responsibility.

Believing in the general principles herewith set

forth the Directors of the Chamber of Commerce recently voted that every employing member be asked to urge upon those in their employ and those who may seek employment, the immediate desirability of becoming American citizens and to make citizenship, either actual or prospective, an essential requirement. We are, therefore, bringing this matter to your attention, as an employer, with the confident expectation that you will, through the proper channels of your concern, make known your attitude to such of your employees, or those seeking employment, as have not qualified as citizens, or manifested disposition to do so.

Let us imagine this document on the desk before the bewildered employer. He is too much occupied to note that its premises are untrue and that its reasoning is bad. The outstanding note calls for a naturalization of labor, and the counsel appears to come from a committee which has the confidence of his business associates. This may be true, and may not be true. More probably it emanates from some social worker who is supposed to be an expert, but who as a matter of fact knows nothing of business, and little of political science. However this may be, it is authoritative and looks interesting. The recipient turns it over to some member of his staff—perhaps a budding sociologist who is engaged to keep him up with the times—for endorsement, and when this is returned, issues an order which states that employees

who do not qualify for citizenship will not be needed after a given date.

So much for a particular instance of the manner in which destructive forces are set in operation during times of peace by a good American who acts on insufficient data. Although it is hypothetical, the informed reader will probably recall an actual instance that has come within his own observation. There are thousands of such!

Let us now see how the American soldier has recently handled the same problem.

In the second Report made by the Provost Marshal General to the Secretary of War (printed 1919), the Provost Marshal General, after noting the particular devotion shown by many soldiers of foreign lineage, says (page 86):

On the other hand, not the least valuable of the lessons of the draft is its disclosure that to-day there are certain portions of our population which either will not or cannot unite in ideals with the rest. We have welcomed to our shore many who should be forever denied the right of American citizenship. The operation of the draft in respect to aliens is a great object lesson for the American people. While many declarant aliens completed their citizenship after they had been inducted into the service, and fought loyally under the Stars and Stripes, yet many others refused to do so and were discharged under the order of April 11, 1918. Furthermore, thousands of non-declarant aliens claimed and received exemption; and

thousands of others who had failed to claim exemption sought and obtained their discharge from the service after they had been duly inducted. Many of these friendly and neutral aliens, who refused to aid their adopted country in time of need, had made the United States their home for many years, had acquired a comfortable livelihood, and had enjoyed to the fullest extent the benefits and protection of our country. But while millions of American boys left their homes gladly, and all that home means, to fight for high ideals, and the preservation of all that is near and dear to a patriot, these men deliberately refused to make the sacrifice.

Having thus succinctly described a situation with which his office and the thousands of local boards coöperating with it were familiar, the distinguished officer in question proceeds to point out various problems of the draft which arose from the presence in this country of a large foreign population.

Of these none appear to have been more difficult to solve than that which eventuated from the fact that thousands of non-declarant aliens were serving in the United States armies who either claimed, or had a right to claim, that their induction was illegal, and that other thousands such as the Jugo-Slavs and Czecho-Slovaks, who desired to rid themselves of Austrian or other allegiance, were also violating precedent by serving under our colors either in the regular forces or else in the foreign

legion. It did not follow that these last were attached to the United States because they were ready to fight their mother country. What most of them desired was full recognition of sovereignty for the districts from which they hailed. Meantime their presence with the flag was something to be explained.

In the nature of things these foreign groups became a matter of serious embarrassment to camp commanders. Some could speak English, and partially voiced complaints; others were shut off from the ordinary avenues of communication because their mother-tongue was Russian, Italian, Polish, or any one of a hundred dialects. They were frequently sulky and insubordinate.

To add to the complications a constant drift of letters and orders came to each Division Headquarters from the office of the Secretary of War or through proper military channels. These reflected staff opinions or threw in form advices from the Departments of State and Justice which had to do with the representations of foreign governments, the legal status of individuals, and the consideration to be given non-English speaking persons protesting induction, etc. The orders were not infrequently contradictory and difficult to put into effect.

It was therefore a matter of congratulation and relief when Congress under date of May 9, 1918, enacted amendments to the naturalization laws

which removed many of the "limitations of procedure and time" in the naturalization of aliens in the military or naval service of the United States.

In the language of the Provost Marshal General's report its effect was—

To make it possible for an alien whether a declarant or non-declarant who had been either enlisted or drafted into the service of the United States to change his status into that of a full citizen, thus enabling him to enter without the handicap imposed upon him by his foreign nativity.

It also opened the way for the Camp Commanders under the direction of the Adjutant-General of the Army to encourage naturalization on a large scale and resulted in the conversion of the "Foreign Legion" of the Army of the United States into a host of loyal American citizen-soldiers.

By this act the number of those military persons as to whom any question could henceforth be raised, either on the ground of their proper induction as non-declarant aliens or on the ground of their non-ability as declarant aliens of treaty countries or of neutral countries was substantially diminished.

To the General Staff receiving reports from the various camps, as to the civilian observer, the effect of the May 9, 1918, law therefore seemed salutary in the highest degree. Naturalization offices were crowded with business, problems were being eliminated, and it commenced to look as if the officers in charge of training our armies for battle

were hereafter to be relieved from the anxieties and dilemmas arising from the irregular or questioned presence in camp and cantonment of great numbers of non-English speaking soldiers with an undefined status.

Unfortunately, however, there is another side to the story and one which I think has not been told. When this comes out, as it should in due time, it will appear that the law of May 9, 1918, was used not only by inducted aliens as an immediate means of solving personal perplexities, but that it became a club, if not in the hand of division commanders, then in the hand of their subordinates, to force naturalization.

All this is not surprising but it is of serious import. Just as the mill superintendent, accustomed to handle blocks of men in such a way as may serve his immediate purpose, grasped and pushed naturalization machinery in order to secure, retain, and control needed labor, so the soldier with a greater need and a higher object took the full advantage of the military naturalization act without giving much thought to the ultimate consequences.

The regular army is a splendid school for discipline. Men trained in its traditions obey their superiors and know how to exact obedience. In the summer of 1918 the men responsible for the training of our citizen-soldiery were veterans in the handling of raw recruits of diverse racial con-

nections. They were experts in turning the most unpromising material into soldiers. Before the opening of the War, however, their experience had been with single individuals, with a dozen, with a score at a time perhaps, but never had they known nor had the military men of any other establishment known what it was to handle thousands, if not tens of thousands, of draftees owing allegiance to forty different countries, in a bunch. They had been baffled and worried beyond expression, and had borne themselves with infinite credit to the country—sending trained divisions across seas in rapid succession, and in spite of discouragements and entanglements sifting the polygot material in their hands in such a way as to produce the best possible effect. To such the Naturalization Act was a godsend, and they used it—some of them with wise discretion, others without careful thought of the consequences, but all with the object of thereby serving the country.

It is not my purpose in this chapter to make careful inquiry into the effects of the law of 1918. At the time it was variously interpreted—the Federal Naturalization Office, lax in recent years, reporting that it covered enemy aliens, and the Judge Advocate General's office expressing itself with less assurance.

In some camps it was welcomed by the drafted men as the probable medium through which an opportunity to visit their homeland might be se-

cured. This was reported to be the attitude of Italian soldiers who furnished 70% of the aliens naturalized in one cantonment.

In other camps it was sharply criticized, being spoken of as a "commandeering proposition"—the critics throwing the burden upon non-commissioned officers for the tactics used in urging or forcing eligible persons to accept the provisions of the act.

However this may be, there is no doubt but that thousands became citizens of this country either by compulsion or from unworthy motives, and that thousands of others secured the franchise who had and who have no love for the country. There was abundant evidence at the time. There is abundant evidence to-day. Sometimes it forces itself upon attention in disloyal demonstrations of ex-service men, sometimes in the stolid and unpatriotic manner in which individuals of foreign lineage who served with the colors deport themselves in the discussions of questions which are of vital importance to their fellow-citizens.

Meantime we have the reports of the Bureau of Naturalization to show that 155,246 draftees were naturalized between May 8, 1918, and November 30, 1918. Anyone who gives weight to this very large figure and knows the composition of the alien element which was inducted into the service as a result of the second draft must realize that the law of May, 1918, as interpreted and made to operate, although it appeared to serve a tempo-

rary purpose, was and will be a continuing cause of mischief.

I wish it were possible to dismiss the question of naturalization with the foregoing review of dominating influences. To do so would leave the reader uninformed in regard to the organized movement to encourage it. This takes its head in federal officials who use the well-meant but unfortunate Americanization and similar movements to secure their ends, and who in the probable belief that they are doing God's service endeavor to direct the machinery they control into media for naturalization.

Reference to their reports indicates that since 1907 there have been more applicants for naturalization in each year than there have been incoming immigrants in the same year.¹

This seems to the Commissioner of Naturalization to be a cause for congratulation, but inasmuch as nothing other than the vaguest language is used to describe the character of the applicants, it may be an even greater cause for apprehension. Nothing better illustrates the fact that the educative forces of the country, as has been argued elsewhere, are apt to take one angle of view in regard to our American citizenship, while the everyday citizen who prizes his constitutional liberty takes another. The former, somewhat inclined toward internationalism, feel that every accession

¹ 1914 report, page 43.

to citizenship of a person who knows how to conduct himself with certain sobriety is a matter of congratulation. The latter is not prepared to move so fast, noting that the timbers of the Republic are under a strain which comes alternately from within and without. He wishes to feel his way more carefully.

Much that our Federal Bureaus are doing in the way of encouraging the teaching of English and primary civics is excellent. Meanwhile there are a good many Americans who, after providing for this sort of instruction for adult immigrants, would rest satisfied. These latter make the pertinent inquiry—What object is there in increasing the number of units in the electorate? An increase in our citizenship is not going to help us to decide the colossal problems which are now before the Republic. Is it not enough for us to keep avenues of citizenship open to those who are unquestionably worthy, and dismiss the notion that we can make men virtuous democrats by providing them with the franchise?

According to a recent report of the Commissioner of Naturalization, the latter thinks not. Under date of 1919 that official says—

The field of the Bureau has extended beyond the narrow original confines where it concerned itself with the alien only after he had declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States. It now reaches

to the other side of that point of contact, and broadly speaking is in contact with the alien at every point of his life and activities in this country, and, as it should be, aids him in manifesting his desire to become naturalized. The limitation upon the activities or manifestations of activity of government in the Republican form are to be measured only by the public mind. There can be no artificial or prescribed boundary line between authorized government and its people. Those boundaries will be what the people determine them to be.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INTELLECTUALS

AMONG other phenomena which accompany political decadence is the development of a mischievous criticism which rips down what is being constructed with effort, makes unhappy comparisons, and records itself as out of gear with established conditions. It encourages political instability, and always precedes revolution.

Mischievous criticism of this sort is rampant in America, and cannot wisely be overlooked by those who are loyal to democratic institutions, as it is sure to betray confidence in time of stress, if it is not properly gauged beforehand.

This mischievous criticism is characterized by egoism and pride of intellect. It is personified in the philosopher with a contempt for facts—the economist who knows little of political limitations—the essayist who prefers a well-turned phrase to a careful bit of reasoning—the specialist who keenly appreciates that he is living in a period which specializes and must put on blinders if he expects to secure a name for himself—the politician who be-

lieves that sociology provides an avenue to distinction—and the narrow-minded ones among the scholars who live in a world of books. Few of these are people of affairs, although their scribbling pens and wagging tongues concern themselves more with industrial and political problems than do the agencies of those who are bearing the heat and burden of the day.

The latter individuals are busy providing the bread and butter which keeps the cynical idealist alive, and providing the laws which give him security. It is a ludicrous fact, therefore, that when the critical publicist talks revolutionary nonsense, which is his constant theme, he is hacking at the base of the pedestal which both keeps him in the public view and arranges for his maintenance.

I can conceive of a state of society in which a reasonable number of such persons who are known to the labor element as Intellectuals, might be very helpful because of the stimulating effect they would have upon the national intelligence.

Meantime it is quite probable, and there seems to be advantage in discussing the fact, that the unlimited number of these eccentrics in the United States, taken together with the fact that they write the books of the Nation, control its periodical literature, and furnish its lecture platform, are making it exceedingly difficult for the American people to continue the simple program marked out for them by earlier generations.

May I give a case in point which reflects the sentiment and spirit of these restless searchers for something different than the existing order?

Not long since there appeared in a weekly paper, subsidized by persons of wealth who are in sympathy with the intellectual movement, a series of articles written to meet the objections of those revolutionaries who find difficulty in thinking through the problems which beset what they call industrial democracy. Only twenty years ago the fact that such articles could be published at all would have created astonishment. Inasmuch as a thousand other similar bits of literature (a fact which in itself seems to mark decadence) appeared in different parts of the country within the same weeks during which these contributions were published, it cannot be said that there is now anything surprising in their appearance.

The author, apparently advised of the fact that Lenine and Trotzky were finding grave trouble in conducting the manufacturing plants which they had so ruthlessly seized, and anxious to do away with the hesitancy of those in this country who refrain from an attempt to seize all private property—not on moral grounds but because they are afraid they cannot administer the vast enterprises which supply a large part of our population with employment—took occasion to show how a labor government could handle these to advantage by impressing the technical experts of the country.

These he pointed out were the real brains of the community. Endowed with the largest ability, and trained in the higher technical schools, they have acquired a complete mastery of the profession or handicraft, which has become their vocation. There is no question therefore as to their competency to direct industrial activities for a Commune.

Three difficulties occurred to the writer—

The fact that capital had already mobilized the inventive and constructive talent of the Nation;

The lethargy of the technical experts themselves;

The lack of interest which these latter show in Soviet propaganda.

These obstacles it was suggested could be overcome by waking the skilled workman, specialist, and overseer to the degradation of their present employment, and the boundless opportunity awaiting them if labor should be substituted for the capital now employing them. The author recommended that wise and patient souls now planning for the re-organization of society in the United States lose no time in grooming the technical genius and talent of the country for the great part it is to play in the future.

Now I presume this is all very harmless. I can visualize the extremely rich autocrat who fools himself into believing that American society would go to the bow-wows if it were not for his wire-pulling, smiling at its ingenuousness. He knows perfectly well the limitations of most, if not all spe-

cialists. He appreciates how inexorable is the law which makes organizers and chieftains out of those unsuspected of merit. Therefore he ignores such deliverances just as his easy-going countrymen ignore them. Meanwhile, although this disposition to meddle with the established order may be innocuous in itself, its spirit is symptomatic of discontent, if not of disloyalty, and carried to the nth power indicates a probable change in the political system.

We have seen that it is not easy for the American people to keep its shifting personnel informed as to its traditions. If they can maintain their standards among the mongrel population, made up of an unassimilated citizenry and foreigners, in the face of evil influence which sneers at their holy things, plots their undoing, and deliberately discusses the *modus operandi* of a government to be substituted for the existing Republic, they will have accomplished that which the evidence of history leads us to suppose is impossible.

Reference to the alien brings me directly to the occasion for this chapter, viz.—the effect that stricture, disparagement, and intrigue have upon that part of our population which still belongs to the old world rather than to the new.

We have already noted that among those citizens who file indictments against the democracy are the loyal men and women whose necessary and desirable protests against public corruption, malfeasance in office, and political chicanery serve to

gauge the moral status of the Nation. It is regrettable, but undeniable, that this outspoken and fearless castigation of bad men and bad measures is misinterpreted by the better element among the immigrants and misused by those who are corrupt and wickedly disposed.

While the challenge which calls upon fraud and knavery to unmask must continue in the interests of good government, it is stupid for men who love the Republic not to realize that their just censure of wrongdoing is interpreted by the foreigner as endorsing the sneers and jibes of the disaffected, warranting the meddling of visionaries, and justifying revolution. It is infinitely embarrassing—infinately unfortunate—but it is a real condition and offers one of the most potent reasons why patriots should find a way to muzzle the Intellectual or make his work innocuous. If they cannot do either, they ought to prepare themselves to meet the sort of physical violence which is so frankly threatened.

The fact that they are obtuse and fail to deal wisely with those who are ready to turn national dilemmas to their own advantage is a cause for real concern to those who have believed that a people's government can insure order and freedom.

It is also cause for much unquietness—that the pamphleteer, and platform orator, who does not intend to pose as a critic but who is ceaselessly raiding our institutions or asking them to perform

services for which they are unfitted, will not measure his deliverances more carefully. In case of the weak optimist such caution can hardly be looked for. In the case of the careless publicist it is unpardonable and registers a degree of public obliquity which many have failed to suspect. These individuals are little concerned in business matters or commercial enterprises unless it be by way of collecting facts and figures for literary use or philosophical deduction. They are not therefore in a position to plead that other matters have had their attention. Omniverous readers of all that is critical and censorious, nothing passes them that brings an official, a usage, or a fallacious government scheme into the spotlight. Careful watchers of every sociological experiment, they are better advised regarding the complexion and character of the alien and partly absorbed citizen than any others in the community. They know the lack of knowledge of this element, and the wicked influences that control them. Notwithstanding this they continue to provide pabulum for the discontented, and even use the explicable errors of their fellow-citizens to prop up futile, if not disloyal, propositions.

It is portentous that there are so many in the Republic who in exigent times have the mind to use its misfortunes in such a way as to hasten its collapse.

CHAPTER IX

PROPAGANDA

PERSUASIVE teaching given with a defined object has been and is a medium for bringing about human welfare or woe. Directed by wisdom, patience, and an iron will it is compelling when it is conformable to law, and unutterably mischievous when directed to an unworthy or mistaken end. For this reason democracies have reason to fear such purposeful instruction as human units dread an unfamiliar draft. It may bring them lasting harm. It may prove beneficial. Therefore it is immensely important that they should be informed in regard to it.

While the truth thus stated has been long taught by philosophy and history, it remained for the World War to find a name for this illimitable force which makes or mars, and to couple the christening with an illustrative definition which has burned into the mortal soul.

The name is propaganda—not an unfamiliar word—and the extreme example of what propaganda does is illustrated by the shocking transformation

of kindly sentimental peoples into a merciless and lawless army.

Before 1914 the American people knew that human society and their political institutions could be readily modified, helped, or disintegrated by planning and contriving that worked into expression through platform and pen. They had watched the workings out of campaigns to extend and abolish slavery—and had tasted the dreadful fruitage of misdirected ambition in the war between the States.

Meantime in these cases as in others less momentous, the causes which shaped dominating opinions were so natural or obscure as to escape the attention they deserved.

There was some inquiry into origins, and numberless dissertations upon these, but nothing scientific or systematic was done to provide against the unhappy rolling-up of bad or dangerous sentiment. Psychology had not received suitable attention. Men were inclined to fight evils that had taken on form, and were not doing the sort of subjective thinking that would lead them to nip disorders in the bud. Not from choice but from inertia they defended their institutions when finally assaulted, but failed to meet the enemy on his own ground. That was the way they fought fever until Gorgas taught them better, and while the warnings of statesmen indicate that they knew the cost of unfortunate instruction, there con-

tinued to be an indisposition on the part of the public to deal with any other perils than those which were tangible and immediate.

It is difficult to believe in the light of the inquiry which was forced by the German cataclysm that mankind, least of all the citizens of a Republic, will ever be so unobservant again. Meantime for the purpose of this book it is desirable to briefly recur to the development of Prussian propaganda, cite examples of domestic propaganda, and specify reasons why the American should dread this possible foe of liberty.

Whoever is responsible for the beginnings of German errancy, it is certain that there were Germans as early as the eighteenth century who were laying the foundations for trouble, and who with Fichte (1762-1814) believed that a man who was possessed of knowledge and power had the right and duty to compel the whole of mankind to submit to his direction.

It is true that the philosopher recognized the fact that any individual who assumed the responsibility of dictating to his fellow-men must take upon his own conscience any risk that he might run of being wrong. Meantime the norm trouble lay in a philosophy which emphasized that man can be a "master armed with compulsion and appointed by God."

Nietzsche, 1844-1900, and Treitschke, built upon these foundations. Nietzsche, the prophet of

the "Mailed Fist," furnished abundant pabulum to arrogant military men in his view of life as "essentially appropriation, injury, conquest of the strange and weak, and obtrusion of its own forms,"—and Treitschke furnishes numerous indices of the rapid development of the unforgivable Prussian propaganda by saying in various ways that "weakness (apparently synonymous with humanity) must always be condemned as the most disastrous and despicable of crimes, the unforgivable sin of politics."

These quotations illustrate the wicked trend of thought in the group that during the nineteenth century had slipped into the saddle for the avowed purposes of aggrandizing the Fatherland.

What is of even more importance and not less easily proved by evidence is the swiftly widening circle of persons in all walks of life who adopted the inexcusable heresy which finally poisoned the minds of continental Germans. From the Emperor who as early as 1900 had been led to believe that if anything in the world was to be decided it must be done by the sword or the "pen supported by the force of the sword"—to Delbrück, the professor, who put Might in the place of Right—new shoals of persons in every walk of life and with each recurring year added their voices to the vicious chorus until the non-German observer is forced to conclude that there was no way out for the great populace of farmers, commercial people, and me-

chanics except to adopt what seemed to be the voice of the Nation.

There follow a few extracts drawn from matter already given the public to illustrate the universality of a line of thought so wrong as to defeat its own object in unshackled minds.

In 1906 Klaus Wagner is reported to have said:

It is a great, powerful nation which overturns a less courageous and frequently degenerate people and takes its territory from it. For a great, strong people finds its house too narrow, it cannot stir and move about, cannot work and build up, cannot thrive and grow. The great nation needs new territory. Therefore it must spread out over foreign soil, and must displace strangers with the power of the sword.

This pleased Von Bernhardi who in 1912 admitted that:

Germany's claim to a great position in the world may certainly lead to a war similar to the Seven Years' War. Still we shall be as victorious as was Prussia's hero King.

and noted that:

Germany does not lack money. What we want is a firm will to greatness. Then only shall we attain greatness.

Conceive of the quotation from Wagner as reflecting the speech and opinion of thousands of

other Germans, and the expressed will of Bernhardi as but one instance of the expressed will of the German leaders, and you will find war not only to be inevitable, but close at hand.

Bernhardi and his sort trusted Germany's readiness to make practical application of Wagner's bad philosophy, and made possible such confident expressions as we have from K. F. Wolfe in 1913:

The conquerors are acting only according to biological principles if they suppress alien languages and undertake to destroy strange popular customs. . . .

Only the conquering race must be populous, so that it can overrun the territory it has won.

Inferior races are eligible only to positions of a non-political character, to commercial commissions, chambers of commerce. . . .

The principal thing for the conqueror is the outspoken will to rule and the will to destroy the political and national life of the conquered.

At the later date no further tests were necessary; Germany was armed to the teeth and had the will to strike. In 1914 civilization reeled when propaganda crystallized itself into an aggressive and merciless war directed—

with a cruelty, frightfulness and employment of every imaginable device unknown to any previous war. (PASTOR BAUMGARTEN in *Deutsche Reden in Schwerer-Zeit*—1914-1915.)

So much for the preparation which made possible the scourging of modern civilized Europe by Prussian savages (with the Teutonic tribes which they dominate) in a manner less conscionable than were any of the barbaric forays against decadent Rome. Bleeding and suffering severely from the dreadful effects of erroneous but cunningly directed teaching, the people of the United States are not likely to forget the meaning of the word "propaganda," and should not be unwilling to make such self-examination as will reveal the prodigious power of propaganda when it is used to shape their own action.

Perhaps nothing will illustrate this power better than the comparatively recent peace movement launched from an admirable motive by a small group of professors and scholars whose loyalty to the Constitution cannot be doubted.

Few noticed its beginnings which must have been in a closet. It did not take expression until 1915 or 1916 when the League to Enforce Peace was organized as a result of a preliminary meeting at Cleveland and a breakfast at the Willard in Washington. Funds appear to have been in sight from the day of its infancy and accumulated rapidly under the appeal of its sponsors. These provided the sinews of war and made it possible to prepare and distribute the literature necessary to acquaint the public with its platform and provide it with a sustaining membership.

This done, its policies were set out in becoming shape, and brought to the attention of individual churches and societies for human uplift as well as to the national committees or conventions through whom these units voice their attitude on public questions.

Inasmuch as universal peace is believed by a large proportion of humane people to be the ultimate goal of civilization, it quickly popularized itself. Thousands allied themselves with it, and hundreds of thousands looked to it for direction. This gave it a driving force and influence that was almost irresistible.

It is fortunate that its sponsors were patriots, otherwise by the time the war issue became a vital one, they might readily have modified the policy of the Federal Administration. As it was, so exceedingly potent was the movement that after the temporary eclipse which a concentration of the war spirit made inevitable, it was still in a position, adapting its principles to what its leaders regarded as a present need, to not only secure government attention to the League of Nations proposition but to make this surprisingly popular in the United States.

Here is an instance of the way in which sentiment in the country can be speedily shaped and mobilized. It is purposely chosen because no one can doubt the high purpose of the eminent gentlemen who were behind the propaganda, and not

with the object of raising a discussion as to its merits.

Perhaps a better example of propaganda and its amazing effect is the law which has stopped the use of alcoholic beverages by the American people. It matters little for the present purpose whether the result is beneficent, or whether it abridges the constitutional liberties of the citizenry which are guaranteed by the Constitution. The up-standing fact is that after sentiment had once been shaped by cogent and insistent appeal, first the state legislatures and then the National Congress did its bidding, and that the restraining legislation which followed took a large part of the voting population by surprise.

Such are certain concrete instances of the power which propaganda in the United States has to work the will of the men and women behind it. That it is recognized in some degree by men of standing who have had training in public affairs is evidenced by sporadic efforts made by legislatures to control it. Reference to one of these will be illuminating as indicating the manner in which ambitious spirits contrive to use the government machinery for their ends, and will furnish the reader with the interesting comment of individuals who have crossed swords with it.

February 8, 1917, the Senate of the United States, then considering the Agricultural Appropriation Bill (No. 19359), was asked by Senator

Kenyon to consider an amendment which he offered and for purposes which will sufficiently appear in the excerpts quoted below.¹

This amendment provided that:

No part of the appropriations made by this Act whether for salaries or expenses or any purpose connected therewith shall be used in connection with any money contributed or tendered by the General Education Board or any corporate or other organization or individual in any way associated with it, either directly or indirectly, or contributed or tendered by any corporation or individual other than such as may be contributed by State, County or Municipal agencies, nor shall the Department of Agriculture receive any moneys for salaries or any other purpose from the General Educational Board, etc.

Nor shall any person paid in whole or in part by any such corporation for services rendered by him be employed by the Government or become or remain an officer of the Government.

Senator Kenyon in speaking upon his amendment reminded his colleagues that in 1914 (see Con. Rec. Feb. 8, 1917, p. 3148), he had introduced a resolution in the Senate calling upon the Secretary of Agriculture to submit a list of those in his Department who were paid in part by organizations outside the Government—and that in response thereto the Secretary of Agriculture had returned a list of more than four hundred names, some of whom were paid a nominal sum by the Depart-

ment but whose main salaries were paid by the General Educational Board which is a part of the Rockefeller Foundation.

The Senator followed this reference up with the statement that although Congress had at that time adopted a somewhat similar amendment to the one he was now proposing, the practice had not been stopped, and that he had in his possession a communication from the Civil Service Commission which showed that "at this time there are some five hundred people engaged in the Department of Agriculture receiving from one dollar per year up to twenty-five dollars per year from the Government," but who were presumably paid by the General Educational Fund or other outside parties.

To me [said the Senator] it seems fundamental that the practice should be prohibited, and that the Government pay its own employees without any assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation.

He concluded by urging an investigation and saying:

What particular reason is there why parties should receive a dollar a year from the Government, become employees of the Government in that way and be given the franking privilege, thus enabling them to send documents all over this country at the great expense of the Government? It is an insidious influence in our Government that ought to be stopped.

Those who have the patience to review ancient records will dig up more matter for thought in the debate which followed Senator Kenyon's amendment than is commonly to be gleaned from such repositories. Thus they will find that on objection made by Senator Smoot of Utah to the statement that recipients of one-dollar salaries from the Government had a right to the free use of the mails; two important facts were quickly made plain, viz. —that employees of private persons or corporations, nominally officers of the Administration, were in such relations to the heads of departments as to make it practicable for them to secure the printing by Congress as departmental documents of papers and pamphlets prepared by them under their supervision—and to distribute any amount of such literature by securing the interest or endorsement of a Senator.

They will also find many excerpts taken from the national press and from letters of eminent individuals written or printed as a result of this or earlier agitation for the blocking of other than government control of government organs and which were referred to in debate. Two of them, one from the *Atlanta Journal*, and the other from the *Springfield Republican*, are so germane to the subject under discussion that I shall quote them here.

The first contains certain extraordinary passages prepared prior to the German debacle (viz.,

April 2, 1909), which clearly point out the practicability of shaping the minds of peoples or nations so that they will do the will of a mean minority, and which note that the people do not realize the power which educational institutions control.

When England wished to insure her dominion in Normandy she founded the University of Caen in 1436.

When Spain desired to consolidate the Netherlands she established the University of Douay in 1572 and with it she achieved results that still abide.

After the battle of Jena Germany set about healing the political bruises and military wounds inflicted upon her in that disastrous defeat by founding the University of Berlin in 1810. Of this Schleiermacher said: "Berlin will become the center of the entire intellectual activity of Northern and Protestant Germany, and a solid foundation will be prepared for the accomplishment of the mission assigned to the Prussian Government.

Think of the proposition! To elevate the Kingdom of Prussia and to unify the German Empire by establishing a school! Our practical men would laugh at such an idea. The event has justified the wisdom of their far-sighted proposal. With its great university Berlin is the very heart of the nation's life and its influence is felt throughout the world. Our own educational institutions have not escaped the influence of the University of Berlin."

In 1870 Bismarck undertook the Germanizing of

Alsace-Lorraine by completely reconstructing the University of Strassbourg.

It is not safe for the educational institutions of the country to be under the virtual dominion of fifteen men [The reference is here to the General Education Board incorporated by an Act of Congress approved Jan. 12, 1903], however pure they may imagine their intentions to be. It is not a question of motives but a question whether it is good for the country to have its educational work determined by a board of fifteen men responsible to no authority, civil or educational, in the land. Such a centralized educational system is perilous to the extreme. It is such a concentration of power in the matter of the highest interest of the nation as no fifteen men however wise or virtuous can be trusted to exercise without abusing it to the furtherance of their own interest, and to the injury of those who do not agree with them in interest or opinion.

The second excerpt meets the argument which is so often advanced that the people are dependent upon the guidance of cliques and coteries.

There are those who still hold the idea that but for these great individual fortunes and their benefactions society would be worse off than it is in educational and philanthropic work. Such theory is wholly untenable—that the people cannot generally be trusted properly to appreciate the importance of education and other effort for the elevation of the race and the amelioration of the general conditions of living, or to

contribute adequately to their support; it is only true that the people will be laggard in support of such efforts when a comparatively few towering fortunes exist, able and willing to be leaned on for these needs. Then we may expect communities or institutions to develop a mendicant attitude and turn from self-help to help from beyond which flows down as if from some superior source that is to be held in worshipful consideration. How socially demoralizing this must be no one can fail to understand.

It will be noted that these newspaper paragraphs have more to do with the educational than the agricultural department of the Government. Such references are explained by Senator Kenyon's statement adverted to—that the Department of Education had already attracted Congressional investigations.

Incidents in the former episode were frequently on the lips of Senators and were used most effectively. An instance of this follows. It will be found on page 3149 of the Congressional Record.

Senator Chamberlain—At a hearing before the Committee on the District of Columbia of the House of Representatives on the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth days of April of last year (1916), Mr. E. J. Ward was a witness. He was one of the gentlemen who was carried on the roll of the Bureau of Education at a salary of one dollar per annum paid by the Government and he did not disclose who paid the balance or principal part of his salary. It is fair to

say in his behalf, however, that the inquiry was not pressed. He was asked by Mr. Lloyd, a member of the Committee:

Mr. Lloyd—As a matter of fact you are an employee of the Bureau of Education.

Mr. Ward—I am an employee sworn as others to defend the Constitution using the Government frank as others.

Mr. Lloyd—Is it true then that your purpose in being connected with the Department was to get the privilege of the frank?

Mr. Ward—My purpose in being connected with the department was to render therein the service which I could render by having this opportunity.

And again—Senator Chamberlain after some interruption proceeded:

“I do not know this gentleman, Mr. Ward. I only judge him by his testimony here. The question was asked him in view of the fact that he was getting only about one dollar a year from the Government and the balance from some other source, to whom he felt his allegiance was due—whether to the individual who paid the salary or to the Government of the United States. I just want to call your attention to it because the way he answered the question is quite amusing.

Mr. Ragsdale (interposing)—The question is, who has the right to direct your service—the Government or the person who is paying you?

Mr. Ward—If I may quote a statement out of Court, that would depend on whether you agree with one of the members of Congress who said—“Who pays the piper calls the tune.” All of my income

except one dollar comes from a private individual. If you accept that statement and make it apply, there is at least a suspicion that I am controlled by somebody besides the Government. As to the fact of my control, I doubt it.

Mr. President, there ought not to be anybody on the payroll of the Government with the powers that these individuals must have in the very nature of things, who cannot say promptly and peremptorily that he considers that his allegiance is due to the Government of the United States and not to the man who pays his salary. If he cannot do this, he has no business in the employ of the Government.

This is good reading and indicates a clear understanding of the necessity of preserving administrative proprieties, but Senator Chamberlain does not stop here. His vision is excellent and he appears to perfectly understand not only the mischief that will follow the practice of putting Government machinery at the disposal of private interests, but the peril that lies in propaganda.

Thus after pointing out to the immense power exercised by certain great Foundations whose method he declares are dangerous to American youth, he goes on to say:

Let me illustrate what I mean. Give me, Mr. President, the education of the youth of the country and the control of \$100,000,000 or \$200,000,000 for a period of years to use as I please and I venture the prediction that in two or three generations *I can prac-*

tically change the ideal of America. It is not the first time in the history of this Republic where the school has been resorted to to change public opinion, nor is it the first instance in the history of the world where schools and universities have been resorted to for the purpose of changing public opinion.

I have often wondered why it was that Washington in his Farewell Address appealed to the religious side of the American people, and stated how necessary it was for our preservation that we preserve the religious and the moral life. I never got from any source an idea as to why that was included in his Farewell Address until the other day, and I concluded that it was prompted by the conditions of his day as developed in the colleges of his time.

After referring to the fact that various institutions of learning at the time of the Revolution were hotbeds of infidelity and reflected the philosophy of Rousseau and Voltaire, he continues:

If it was true in those days, it is true in this day, that if you place the education of our people in the hands of men whose ideas are at variance with the ideas and ideals of most of the people of the country, there is no telling where it may lead.

I have followed notable examples of recent propaganda in the United States by citations from a Senatorial debate for the purpose of showing that those who have charge of the business affairs of the Republic not only dread propaganda but are con-

scious that they may unwittingly become its ministers. These are matters of history and as such have their lesson.

Interesting to the scholar, they are of momentous significance to the patriot of the hour who can but become conscious, as he reads, of the inexorableness of certain sinister movements along the line of propaganda which are sweeping Americans into their rising tide.

One of these is of proletariat origin. The other finds its head in the distrustful and dominant super-wealth of the country. The proletariat is of course for revolution. Organized super-wealth endeavors to maintain enough of the political *status quo* to insure leadership by those who are fitted to lead, and with this end in view either subsidizes intellectualism or becomes reactionary. It is always respectable but rarely democratic.

Only the other day L. Lenine pointed out the manner in which the doctrines of Carl Marx have been propagated from the first and second International until they became coherent in the third International and Soviet rule. What he says as to the first and second International of this world movement applies in a very special way to the mischievous achievements of propaganda in America. From 1849 to 1920 the teachers of an anti-capitalistic creed have seen their numbers grow from an insignificant group to an appreciable part of the whole population of the United States.

Others have traced the development of this revolutionary movement, now threatening the national life, from its beginnings to results which give unquestioned satisfaction to its leaders. The matter is voluminous and cannot be condensed without difficulty, so that it is deemed unwise to make more than a passing reference to it at this point.

For the same reason it is inexpedient to discuss developments which are rapidly shaping up as the result of endeavors of the well-meaning leaders in finance whom I have characterized as the super-wealthy. It is well known that these have provided Foundations and set up machinery which is to be operated by those who sympathize with the constructive and defensive views of the sort of multi-millionaire who praises democratic institutions but distrusts the people. That there is cause for such fear must be conceded by any observer who understands how entirely open to disloyal suggestion are the widely divided groups who constitute the American states and who know what propaganda means.

Enough has been written in preceding pages to give one who has not heretofore had the matter called to his attention some idea of the manner in which our heterogeneous people has been thrown into irreconcilable coteries which have nothing in common but a readiness to listen to any one who appeals to their prejudices.

Something remains to be said about propaganda. Propaganda is the supreme power in the world! Nothing that the elements present in the way of good or evil compares with it. Nothing in the world of mind can be likened to it.

Man shrinks before the havoc that results from fire and flood, but he stands yet more in awe before the wreckage that is wrought by the propaganda that raises armies and changes empires.

Man is keenly alive to the benefit or injury that may come to him from a fellow-man, but he has greater cause for joy or sorrow when his destiny is shaped by some right or wrong conclusion of the race that is reached by propaganda.

I do not think that humanity has realized up to the present time that this thing which forges the weapon that he dreads is evil propaganda. Ages ago men got far enough in their gropings for light to realize that the voice of the people (presumably when given as the result of deliberation) was the voice of God—*vox populi*—*Vox Dei*—but up to this hour they have not waked to a consciousness that evil propaganda often shapes what appears to be, but what is not, the voice of the people.

One grave consequence of their blindness has been the ultimate collapse of experiment after experiment in free government. It was well enough and marked progress when far-seeing groups came to the conclusion that government by the people was the best hope for bettering themselves and

posterity, but the discovery of these forward-looking ones has thus far gone for naught and will continue so to do until a way has been found by which the people can speak, not the will of the wire-puller but its own will.

It is because no right solution of this problem has been found in the United States that I am without ground for my hope that the American people will infuse life into the democracy which they pretend to maintain, or stand up against the insidious forces which are undermining their political principles.

None better understood than the framers of the Constitution how impossible it is to maintain a government of the people when some sinister influence is working its will in the electorate. The most casual review of their public utterances will make it clear to any one that their faith in the Republic they were establishing was based upon a certain homogeneity; aspiration based upon information and virtue; and free discussion.

Whatever they believed, they certainly are on record as prophesying that the democracy could not outlive conditions far less extraordinary than those with which we are coping at present.

PART IV
REVOLUTION

CHAPTER I

THE CALL FOR REVOLUTION

THIS chapter has to do with a concrete program for revolution which is now discussed in the United States.

Heretofore attention has been given to conditions favoring revolution which have included a change in the national personnel and principles. We are now in due course to acquaint ourselves with the character of the literature, too abundant to be collated, which is urging the masses to break through all restraint, overturn the political system under which we are living, and assume political control.

It will shortly be seen that this not only advocates the overthrow of the Government as a righteous act, but that it states the reason for such drastic action and provides ways and means for accomplishing its ends. I find nothing in it, and I doubt if the reader can, which provides for the perpetuation of democratic institutions. I am therefore driven to the conclusion that democracy in America has every prospect of a pitched battle with

forces alien to it but which are already entrenched within its territory.

Inasmuch as outside of these subversive forces the Republic is having a hard task to save itself from degenerating and suiciding, this revolutionary propaganda can hardly be treated with contempt, although it is contemptible both in its objects and in the instruments it uses. It is true that it contains in itself that which will defeat its objects, but it is also true that it may through its excesses become the instrument of ushering in autocracy and crushing liberty.

There are plenty of people living whose childhood was spent in the villages and towns of the industrial North of forty years ago, and who were acquainted with the methods of thought of the people who occupied them.

While the communities which had taken on growth with the installation of factories were more or less disfigured by a slatternly corner or outlying suburbs occupied by the unskilled labor of that period, most of them reflected the minds of the men and women who had built them.

Each had its gay circle, its ne'er-do-wells, and its paupers, but outside this minority the inhabitants generally followed the thought of the better educated or the more forceful among them. They therefore regarded the Sabbath as a day which required due respect, even if they did not attend the churches, satisfied themselves with the mental

pabulum offered by the local lyceum, and nourished a regard for the proprieties in all matters touching business or social intercourse.

It followed, therefore, that part and parcel of the Victorian period as they were, they were suspicious of innovation. This does not mean that they were not equal to splendid action in time of emergency nor that they had lost the spirit which the more mature among them had shown in the critical period of the Civil War. It rather indicated a desire to be temperate in all things, and to live in accordance with the principles advocated by those who had shaped their thinking along political as well as religious lines.

One can but wonder what these communities as then constituted would have done in the face of the extraordinary appeals calling the proletariat to arms with which this generation has to do. From the clean, white meeting house with its chaste spire, and the general store of the hamlet, to the handsome homes and thrifty business centers of the towns, order and decency as physically reflected would undoubtedly have registered an automatic protest, but it is difficult to visualize with any satisfaction what the reactions would have been upon the society of that earlier day.

We are sure that there would have been amazement expressing itself in many different ways, and self-castigation in recognition of personal responsibility. We also feel that there would have been

immediate and effective action, but so deeply involved are we at present that it is hard to put ourselves in their position and to know how clear-visioned and unhampered men would have handled the emergency.

Meantime there is reason for referring to that period which as a matter of history was only the other day :

First—because it emphasizes as nothing else will the almost unbelievable change that has been brought about in the United States through forty years of commercial absorption, perverted education and immigration; and

Second—because however much we resent the truth, it forces upon us the conviction that heterogeneity has introduced a loss of grip and vigor.

If this frank manner of dealing with the situation arouses apprehension and even distress, I shall have succeeded in securing from the reader a more careful consideration of the statements which follow than might otherwise have been expected.

Ten years ago or thereabouts there came into my possession a little red book printed by the Industrial Workers of the World, and then in general circulation. I refer to this since it fairly summarizes the sentiment of the great groups of irreconcilables who at that time controlled the left wing of labor, and advanced radicals, together with the flotsam and jetsam which Stevenson years ago described as through worthlessness perpetually at

war with society, and because I am sure that many of those who read these pages will recall it.

Prior to this date there had been many pronunciamientos from anarchistic and incendiary circles printed in the English language. A flood of mischievous abuse against every conserving influence had characterized the campaign which followed the convictions of the men who were responsible for the murder of police officers during the great demonstration in Chicago, and both private clique and well-known socialistic journals had maintained constant fire upon the ramparts of respectability. This was accompanied by ceaseless agitation in the foreign-language press although it rarely came under the eyes of the public.

The publication of the red book marks a period in which the enemies of the Republic adopted a fearless policy of putting in print whatever they had to say, apparently with the reasonable expectation that it would be difficult to secure convictions unless their propaganda was accompanied with some overt act. This expectation appears to have been based upon the growing influence of the Intellectuals who with an unfailing and mischievous spirit have championed license in speech and fought every effort to discourage incendiary appeal.

The red book displays a chart which indicates the manner in which local unions for each industry in a given city or town are tied up through industrial departments and district industrial councils with

the executive board which acts for the general organization.

It then rehearses the story of the rise of the I. W. W., beginning with the Fall of 1904, at which time it states that six active workers in the revolutionary movement held a conference and arranged a call for a larger gathering.

It is during the course of this historic summary that it makes public a program which, threatening in its initiative, becomes increasingly so with the amendments of successive years.

The preamble of the first organization recites:

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want is found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together in the political as well as the industrial field and take and hold that which they produced by their labor, etc.

After an attack upon the trade unions the preamble continues:

These sad conditions can be changed, etc., only by an organization formed in such a way that its members in any one industry or in all industries if necessary cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

That this original preamble was found to be unworkable appears in the comments of the editor of the red book who, after referring to the establishment of the monthly organ, *The Industrial Worker*, the call for the defense of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone (arch conspirators against the established order of things), and the discussions in the second, third, and fourth conventions, prints the amended preamble which is not wanting in clarity. This states:

Between these two classes (the working class and the employing class) a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

and again:

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism.

The army of production must be organized not only for the everyday struggle with the capitalist but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

Leaving now the I. W. W. constitution as set out in the red book's historical survey, it will be well to call attention to the editor's comment upon the structure and tactics of the I. W. W.

Under the head of "Structure of the I. W. W." he says:

The I. W. W. recognizes the need of working-class solidarity. To achieve this it proposes the recognition of the class struggle as the basic principle of the organization and declares its purpose to be the fighting of that struggle until the working class is in control of the administration of industry.

In its basic principle the I. W. W. calls forth that spirit of revolt and resistance that is so necessary a part of the equipment of any organization of the workers, etc. In a word its basic principle makes the I. W. W. a fighting organization. It commits the union to an unceasing struggle against private ownership and control of industry. There is but one bargain that the I. W. W. will make with the employing class—complete surrender of all control of industry to the organized workers.

Under the head of "I. W. W. Tactics" he announces that the I. W. W.:

Aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use. The question of right and wrong does not concern us. . . . Failing to force concessions from employers by strike, work is resumed and sabotage is used to force the employers to consider the demands of the workers. . . . Interference by the government is resented by open violence of the government's orders, going to jail *en masse*, causing expense to the tax payers which are but another name for the employing class.

In short the I. W. W. advocates the use of militant direct action tactics to the full extent of our power to make good.

That this literature thus referred to is revolutionary will I think be agreed to by all; that it was most effective in encouraging industrial war goes without a question. The sharp campaigns which were engineered by the I. W. W. in Lawrence, Mass., Bridgeport, Conn., Philadelphia, Pa., West Virginia, the agricultural regions of the far West, and the North Central Atlantic States if not originally initiated were fostered by it.

Unfortunately, however, the appeal to class feeling and for the subversion of established institutions becomes increasingly objectionable. This is always the way with tides of human feeling that are not checked and diverted. They do not stagnate—they rise!

The red book was inconspicuous and circulated only among the elect. Within three or four years following its publication those who upheld its doctrines were advertising their irreconcilable attitude toward society as organized in America by bold declarations on the red flag, in the radical press, and through individuals.

I select from examples of this sort of propaganda.

On a banner borne in an industrial city during a fiercely fought strike the following appeared:

TWENTIETH CENTURY CIVILIZATION

For the progress of the Human Race we have jails, gallows, guillotines, and electric chairs for the people who pay to keep the soldiers to kill them when they revolt against——and others, czars of capitalism.

Arise !!! Slaves of the World.

No God. No Master.

One for all and all for one.

It will be remembered that a momentary thrill passed through the land at the awful announcement contained in the pronunciamiento: "No God, No Master." It is not improbable that the assertion awoke many for the first time to the fact that a great body of persons within the Republic were challenging the primacy of God, and throwing off the restraints which have differentiated man from animal.

The following is from a placard distributed in the cities about the Metropolis of New England and advertising a meeting on Boston Common to be addressed by William D. Haywood in the interest of radicals then in jail:

Workers of Boston. Ettor and Giovannitti will be murdered in the Electric Chair unless YOU SAVE THEM.

Fellow-Citizens and Workers.—Do not be fooled by the present situation. In the present disclosures revealing the Dynamite Planting by the Contemptible ——[here the name of an employer of labor

is inserted]—and his Gang of Hirelings, do not forget the real motive of the Plant. Capitalistic Editors say it was to discredit the strikers, that was only part of it, the bigger motive was to Get Excuse To Arrest Ettor and Giovannitti. The Dynamite planter was sent to plant the dynamite in Ettor's headquarters—only his unfamiliarity with the building caused it to be left on the other side of the partition in the cobbler's shop.

This was a week before Ettor and Giovannitti were arrested for murder. When one Plant failed, the dastardly crew put up another. They started the disturbances that led to the killing of Anna La Pizza. The whole thing is now exposed.

Innocent men have spent eight months in jail.

Demand an Immediate special session of the court and the quashing of the indictment against Ettor and Giovannitti.

There follow further demands.

Here we have an illustration of the I. W. W. tactics advocated by the red book—inflammatory and false assertion used in defiance of all regard for the truth. It will be noted that the impudent statements of the circular forecast the diplomatic methods which have become familiar to the public in such cases as the widespread propaganda in favor of Sacco and Vanzetti, sentenced for brutal murder after a trial in which the defense had the advantage of all the safeguards provided by the laws of this country.

Other placards of this period published in differ-

ent cities and following the release of Ettore and Giovannitti claimed that the result had been brought about not by the regular procedure of the law but by the asserted will of the people. Ettore and Giovannitti appeared on the platform in various parts of the country and were widely congratulated "by those who helped morally and financially to free them."

I have referred to matter printed in the English language so as to avoid any possible error by translation, but the reader must bear in mind that publication of this sort of stuff in English bore a mighty small proportion to the enormous output of incendiary literature which kept the foreign presses busy and permeated every colony in the land. Most of these were in bold types and did not require any featuring. There were some among them that carried pictures which did no credit to the poster-art. One of these represents the ghost of Lincoln standing outside prison walls behind which Ettore and Giovannitti were supposed to be confined and holding up a sheet with the following words inscribed thereon:

You can fool some of the people all the time; you can fool all of the people some of the time; but you can't fool all the people all the time.

Before him, cringing and shrinking, appears the law in the form of a judge in his robes of office, a capitalist who hides behind the magistrate's gown,

a policemen with "legal murder" written on his left arm which holds a revolver, and a masked dynamiter supposed to be the tool of capitalism.

A few words from Haywood may fitly close allusions to the first era of radical activity in this country which followed the shaping up of the I. W. W. movement. They are taken from a reported interview in which the head of the I. W. W. is alleged to have said that violence should be charged against capital which kills 35,000 men every year and injures 750,000 men in preventable accidents.

The workers have been betrayed [said Haywood] by the church, by the politicians, by the so-called social worker.

Again:

There is no hope in the ballot because a large proportion of workers have no means of expressing their demands. There are eight million women and children who work but have no vote; there are four million black men and some million of foreigners who have not been vested with the vote or have been deprived of the right to use it.

He goes on to say that he sees no solution except by providing that the working class receive the full value of their labor which means that the workers must control industry. But how will this

be brought about? According to Haywood, by the use of any method however unjustifiable.

An explication of his platform leads him to sneeringly remark that the crimes of laborers endeavoring to free themselves by such acts as

breaking windows, smashing machinery, or damaging property in other ways, are easily defined in law and easily punished, while the crimes of the employers which consist in imposing conditions of life upon their workers which in fact amount to murder are difficult to define.

He closes the interview by remarking that capitalists should be eliminated by action of the workers since the result cannot be effected by legislation, and saying:

A concrete example of what the workers can do has been furnished by the Lawrence strike in the United States, and a coal strike in Great Britain where the workers were able to bring the Government to its knees.

If this industrial power is sufficient to compel the Government to do things against its will and against the interest of the ruling classes that same industrial power is strong enough to abolish the Government itself.

One must be blind who does not see that the iteration and reiteration of such sentiments graphically displayed and brought to the attention of the discontented by word of mouth and every

possible device could hardly help but create a disloyal sentiment.

Meanwhile this plan of campaign is differentiated from that which followed by the fact that it was cautious in defying the Government as such and was generally satisfied with attacking capitalists and capitalism. There was no doubt but that it was growing and would have ultimately reached the peak of aggressive disloyalty when the War broke out.

The great debacle of 1914 introduced new forces which may be characterized as the second progressive period of revolutionary agitation.

A Walpurgis night of confused and dreadful propaganda followed. The socialistic and vicious classes of organized labor in the teeth of loyal opposition of the constructive forces in the "American Federation," had already expressed their contempt for government. The I. W. W. with the support of the visionaries among the moneyed class had insisted in print and on the platform that the time had come for the wage-earner to assert himself without regard for the existing law, and anarchistic circles everywhere had been given new life as a result of industrial war. There had been volley firing by the military in the streets of industrial towns and many pitched battles between the demonstrators and the police.

The World War brought notable reinforcements to the forces arrayed against a government pledged

to protect the liberties of its citizenry if necessary by force of arms. Not only did the pacifist make common cause with the slacker who refused to recognize his personal obligations, but he was frequently found endorsing and supporting the position of revolutionary labor. This was embarrassing to the Government and the patriot and broadened channels through which autocracy in the shape of the Central Powers disseminated their poisonous propaganda among the masses. It was, however, of minor import when compared with the activities of the great racial groups remaining in the country, which were bound in allegiance and by family and national ties to the Central Powers.

These after sending large contingents to swell the forces of the nations who, although a declaration of war was withheld, had virtually become the enemies of the United States by a breach of compact and defiance of fundamental law, immediately became centers of enemy intrigue.

As such it was their first endeavor to promote the cause of Prussia and its allies by stirring up their compatriots to acts of war within the territory of the United States and to give the revolutionary groups identified with the International such aid and comfort as was in their power.

They had at hand the machinery which has already been referred to as unifying and controlling sentiment among the great hordes of aliens in this

country, and knew how to use it most effectively. None knew better than they that a large percentage of non-English speaking labor, whether or not they owed allegiance to the allies or were naturalized citizens of the United States, were declared enemies of society.

Sometimes directed from Berlin by German agents impudently working in their midst, sometimes on their own initiative, they undertook to further the cause of revolution with a shrewd appreciation of the fact that a civil war or confused conditions in the boundaries of the Republic would do more to secure the objects which the junkers had at heart than several army corps in Flanders and France. They were therefore unstinted in supplying aggressive revolutionists like the I. W. W. and associated organizations of irreconcilable labor and the proletariat with abundant funds.

The General Staff in Washington, government machinery provided to enforce the draft, committees of safety, and commanders in charge of camp and cantonment were a little later to feel the effect of the tremendous impulse given to the forces that had been long working for the destruction of law and order in America. Meantime unassimilated Germans, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Swedes, Greeks, Turks, Holland Dutch, contingents of Germanized Poles and Austrians, and the subjects of socialistic states like Finland, Lithuania, and similar

countries, even when they were not revolutionaries at heart, hastened to identify themselves with the forces subversive to the democracy.

Thus it came to pass that when the Administration encouraged a declaration of war the great and powerful enemy of democracy, which had defied the law of God and man, and which had mobilized its forces to crush individualism, was already in control of un-uniformed armies in the United States. That these were eager to do its bidding, whether through sympathy or because as revolutionaries they found that their ultimate objects would thereby be advanced, is reflected—in the evasion of the draft—in the discrediting of campaigns for the sale of Liberty Bonds by persons who themselves subscribed to such issues to hide their machinations—in the information given to the enemy—and in the disloyal spirit so amazingly exhibited in many of the national cantonments.

I am giving a single instance of literature distributed during this period as reflecting the mind of a large percentage of the people of the United States. It will be found to breathe hostility to every principle which lovers of the Constitution hold dear. It was published in the form of a two-page leaflet by the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau and was distributed at the small cost of \$1.75 per thousand so that there were few agitators when backed by moneyed malcontents who could not take part in the vicious propaganda.

It purports to have been written by Walker C. Smith and says:

Young man—when you are asked to enlist in the army or navy to be used as food for cannon, be sure to look before you leap.

Remember the Spanish War with its vile and unspeakable record of Embalmed Beef, Shoddy Uniforms, etc., rotten ships and a Rottener Bureaucracy, etc.

Remember that the Officers got the honor and the glory and the men got shot at.

Remember that the Officers got three squares each day while the rank and file were starving.

Remember that these arrogant and overbearing officials were commissioned because they hadn't enough energy to work, brains enough to beg, or courage enough to steal.

Remember that the acquisition of Cuba and the Philippines never raised your wages, shortened your hours or otherwise bettered your conditions.

Remember the pensions the men didn't get

Remember those who were maimed, etc.

Remember the boys who never came back.

Think of the widows, think of the orphans, think of yourselves.

Let Those Who Own the Country Do the Fighting.

Put the wealthiest in the front ranks, the middle class next, follow these with judges, lawyers, preachers, and politicians. Let the workers remain at home and enjoy what they produce. Follow a declaration of war with an immediate call for *A General Strike*.

Make the slogan—*Rebellion Sooner than War*, etc.

Workers of the World Unite!
Don't become hired murderers.
Don't join the Army or Navy.

If this is not treason it is as near rebellion as is possible for a declarant.

When it is remembered that the Federal Government under the stress of war and with its finest manhood mobilized in the national service was absolutely helpless in the face of this situation, and distinguished itself for nothing but blundering, it should give the patriot cause for thought.

Perhaps there will be those who can find a way out, but I confess for myself, having had the opportunity for observation of actual conditions during the most strenuous period of our national life, that I find little ground for optimism.

How—I ask myself—can we expect to meet the future issues of less apparent import if we failed at a time when our political interests were so plainly identified with the defense of the moral law?

Then, although the fine fury of patriotism had brought men and women, loyal to the Constitution, into the national service, the Government found it impossible to co-ordinate the duties of its officers so as to guide and control the ignorant masses of its population.

Then in spite of the fact that experienced and resourceful officers and gentlemen were in a position to direct corrective measures, subversive influences

made it impossible for these to correlate their bureaux or to secure the results which any one of them, if he had been given an opportunity to act, could have brought about.

Then the intellectual, the theorist and the pedant were introduced in such a way into the offices which controlled the Army and co-operating departments of the Government as to produce a confusion, which, if Germany had reached the channel ports or had been able to enter Paris, would have made unavailing the unlimited expenditure of money for war purposes and the splendid sacrifice of life across seas.

In the face of such a record what can we expect today if the devilish machinations of such shrewd and corrupt minds as Lenine and Trotsky with their compatriots in other lands should see fit because of the success or failure of their Russian plans to concentrate their efforts and give their whole attention to directing that part of the Proletariat which is at constant war with the citizenry of the United States.

With this offer of food for reflection I am paraphrasing matter contained in a broadside distributed during the last part of the War period. It is dated May 1, 1918, and is headed—"Proclamation for Workers' Independence"—and advertises a meeting to take place at Independence Square, Philadelphia, May 1, 1918.

It is addressed in capital letters to:

SOLDIERS—SAILORS—WORKERS

who are asked to unite and join labor in a mass demonstration to be held on

May Day when the Proletariat will raise their voices for government of the workers by the workers and for the workers in America.

In view of the fact that revolutionary forces were already exerting a mischievous influence in other countries, the reader is advised that:

The workers in Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, and Bohemia have already come into their own. They "have gained control of their usurped wealth and are now operating the mines, the mills, and factories for the good of the common people and not for the sake of profit."

Commencing with this statement the appeal notes:

There is work for all where the workers rule—and where a few do not live on the blood of starving children and wealth realized from slaughtered humanity.

and after some rhetorical flourishes concludes as follows:

The hour of labor has struck. We who produce all the wealth are the rightful owners of the tools of pro-

duction and distribution, and it is the duty of every workman and woman to demand that which belongs to them.

I have attempted in the preceding pages of this chapter to set out a few selections from a great mass of incendiary literature which lies at hand and which I am satisfied is but a modicum of the uncounted thousands of different placards and *pronunciamentos* which were distributed throughout the United States preceding and during the war period. If the reader is inclined to satisfy himself by personal inspection in regard to the character of this material, he will probably have no difficulty in finding accumulations in the archives of the Department of Justice. Some knowledge of it is necessary in order to rightly appreciate present agitation now going on among us, which as a matter of fact is only part and parcel of the general campaign which looks not only to the destruction of free government in the United States, but to the overturn of society as constituted.

As I compare the specimens already given with those which shall be offered hereafter, I find the matter cumulative in effectiveness. Once it came from scattered groups of anarchists and red socialists—from striking workmen—or from radical committees endeavoring to win the suffrage and support of striking workmen. Now, if it is not directly issued by the Third International, it comes from

forces which are as closely allied with the latter as the selfish interest of its leaders will permit. Once it was restrained and timid. At present it stops at nothing. Once it failed to state its cause forcefully. In these days it displays an admirable art in drawing wrong conclusions from incontrovertible premises in such a way as to make its appeal exceedingly forceful.

When it is realized that the mischievous organism which enemy money and enemy intrigue installed and elaborated during the War is still functioning, it can readily be seen how very harmful its distribution would be even if other factors were left out of consideration.

Meantime we must not forget that—whether the critic regards it as alarming or not—the whole campaign is made immensely more dangerous:

First—because the people behind the propaganda are perfectly informed in regard to the impotence which the United States Government has shown in developing machinery to either block or divert the plans of those who strike at its authority by boring from within; and

Second—because of the vicious activity of persons identified with the more respectable classes but whose lack of judgment has led them, as possessors of wealth or education, to put their resources at the disposal of the advocates of that sort of free speech which is treason.

There follow specimens of printed matter which

have been handed about in the streets, shoved under door-sills of houses and stores during the night-time, tacked on bulletin boards, and displayed in foreign clubs in various parts of the country, since the end of hostilities in Europe.

Those who are familiar with the decrees of the Third International and with any of the insidious propaganda which is directed from Proletariat headquarters will recognize that the same influence that is stirring the revolutionary groups in Germany, Italy, Argentina, and the Balkans—which at times has prostrated industry in Great Britain and which has ruined Russia—is vigorously directing the campaign for the overthrow of our own institutions.

Hardly was the Armistice signed than the following was distributed in various towns of the United States:

To the Working People of America! The War is over. Your exploiters have quickly placed their profits in safety. You, the working slaves, will soon find yourselves in the street facing a hard winter, looking for work which is your only means to supply yourself with the necessities of life because you lack the courage to use other methods.

You have tolerated all the moral and physical slaveries during this war. When you dared open your mouths in protest you were quickly jailed.

What were your profits out of this war?

You lost all the little liberty you had, and you gave

your sons, brothers, and fathers away to be shot down like dogs and left to rot in the fields of France.

For what?

For the glory of the American Flag!

So that your masters might have bigger markets to sell their merchandise and exploit other people like you.

The workers of Germany, Austria, Russia, and other countries have risen and overthrown their rulers not by ballot but by arming themselves as is your only means. You alone do not move. Are you afraid to follow their example? Are you afraid to take by force what rightly belongs to you? Will you wallow under the iron heel of your masters, or will you tear your way by revolution to a better and happier life? Which will you choose?

This was signed by a party of workmen and expresses the sentiment of various placards and circulars which appeared in many languages at the same time.

Another one reads even more frankly:

It is time now to send to Hell every kind of tyrant and every form of man's exploitation of men. To Hell with every race of warriors and patriots made brutes in the art of slaughtering so that the people may have less bread and a tax on them like a beast of burden.

To the Devil with all those who have waged this war and seek to conclude peace.

Which peace? The peace of atrocious pain and of

frightful misery. Down with peace and hurrah for the Revolution.

Long live the restless Satan of Bolshevism which brings revolutions and demolitions here and beyond the sea. To Hell with everybody from President Woodrow Wilson to the last citizen of this Republic which is inquisitorial, which deports the people. Those who are banished from every fatherland do not know any peace but stand for war to the last without giving rest or quarter. Long live the audacious revolt.

With iron and with fire against every enemy of life.

This is signed—"One who is against the circles."

While this sort of material was being promulgated Eugene V. Debs was writing an article for the "Class Struggle" published in Brooklyn, N. Y., in which, after referring to Lenine and Trotsky as the men of the hour, and speaking of the Russian enterprise as a significant spectacle which stirs the blood and warms the heart of every revolutionist and challenges the admiration of all the world, he sneers at those who listen to the false and cowardly plea that the people "are not yet ready" for action. He finds that so far as the Russian Proletariat is concerned the day of the people has arrived, and he adds:

The people are ready for their day. Who are the people? The people are the working class, the robbed, the oppressed, the impoverished, the great majority of the earth. That is the attitude of Lenine and

Trotsky in Russia, that of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany. The reign of capitalism and militarism has made all the people of inflammable material. They are ripe and ready for the change. Let it come. Let us all help its coming and pave the way for it by organizing workers, industrially and politically, to conquer capitalism and usher in the day of the people.

In conclusion he states:

From the crown of my head to the sole of my feet I am Bolshevik and am proud of it.

As a sample of literature issued by special foreign organizations I quote from a circular issued to Polish working people in that language. This after setting out the miseries which it alleges are common to the working-class as a whole, continues:

Workers—are we going to continue to be submissive? Are we going to keep allowing a band of vampires to draw out the blood of our fathers, our brothers, and our sisters? Are we going to keep allowing this capitalistic monster to kill our fathers, our brothers, and our sons in wars for the interests of capitalists? Workers, if we want to exist we must at any rate change the present capitalistic order and establish a new one. If we want to live we must organize and prepare to fight for a better future. An organization which is striving to this end is the Polish Section of the Socialistic Party. What are the purposes of the Internationale? Their main purpose is to destroy the present capital-

istic order and on its ruins build a communistic order. (Communism and socialism are about the same.) What is a communistic order? A communistic order is an order according to which all the riches, as mines, factories, railroads, will become the property of all. Working men have nothing to lose. Before them is the world to be conquered.

If you are a working man join the ranks of the Polish Section of the Socialistic Party. There is strength in unity and victory in strength.

Another one in Polish, emanating from a wider circle—the United Communist Party of America—frankly states that there is need for conscription of factories, and argues that since the Government will not take this up as it will affect the interests of the capitalists and the bosses, but one means is left:

We, the working people, must become active. We must take possession of working institutions and establish control of them. We must control the production of the entire business field in order to benefit, without exceptions, the working class. That is the road to communism. It is that which the laborers accomplished in Russia. They organized their own government and that of Soviet Russia. That is exactly what the laborers must do in America. However, at the time when we try to obtain possession of the factories the manufacturers will call the Government for protection which will give them its police, its army equipped with machine guns, and all war implements

will be used to hold us from getting our purpose. We must be ready to fight with them. We must organize for this fight. The time will be soon come. Down with unemployment. Down with capitalism. Entire control for the working man.

The above are given as reasonably accurate translations of the sort of incendiary appeal that is turned out by the foreign language presses. They are moderate examples of calls made upon the so-called oppressed classes in French, Russian, Lithuanian, Finnish, Syrian, and various other languages.

As a fair indication of the volume of this matter and of its unquestionable stream, I do not hesitate to say that recent samples will be found at almost any time if an inquirer choose to make proper application at the police stations of any industrial center in the United States or at the offices of great manufacturing plants employing foreign labor. A tragic phase of the situation will present itself if the person in quest of information asks for a translation of the exhibits which may be presented. Although such may be on file, it is more than likely that the guardians of the public interest as well as representatives of private corporations have become so callous through familiarity with the exaggerated and dramatic appeal contained in such literature that they have fallen into the way of securing from their interpreters little more than catch words.

While the excerpts offered the reader indicate the general character of these naïvely phrased publications prepared for the foreign palate, it must be borne in mind that there are not wanting posters so framed as to make the most of every incident whether it occurs in this country or across seas, which can be used to further irritate and anger the multitude.

The public is fairly familiar with the appeals in English which appear in the radical press in behalf of such heroes as Haywood and Debs, but it is improbable that it is cognizant of the manner in which racial groups champion the cause of foreign-speaking persons who are jailed for serious infractions of the law. Whether or not there is ground for protest, each incident like that of Sacco and Vanzetti is twisted and used in such a way as will add fuel to the resentment of the prisoner's compatriots.

Less familiar also are such circulars as the one which accompanied the so-called massacre of negroes in Tulsa, Oklahoma. I quote from a leaflet distributed in Waterbury, Conn., which is the center of Italian, Russian, and Polish intrigue.

The only language that the bloodthirsty capitalist in America can understand is the language of organized power. Only by reprisals, by answering force with force, will the business mobs and their white guards, the Klu Klux Klan, etc., be restrained from continuing their brutal and cowardly assaults upon

the negro and working class population of this country. If there is any red blood in the veins of the working class of America, it will come to the defense of its colored brothers, who are the victims of the same bloodthirsty capitalist class which exploits and murders the workers regardless of color or race. In their own interests the white workers of America must come to the aid of the exploited negro masses. Their skins are darker hued than ours but the interests are the same. Black and white, we, the workers, have but one enemy—the capitalist class which uses its government to suppress us;

and again:

We have foolishly allowed ourselves to be swayed by race prejudice. We have failed to organize the negro worker. We have refused to treat him as our own, our equal brother in the class struggle. Break down the barriers in the Union. Wipe out the color line. There is only one line that we can draw—that is the class line. White and black, Jew and Gentile. All the workers, the exploited masses must be organized on the basis of their class interest. The hideous accusation of rapine has been fastened upon their entire race. This is the kind of freedom that capitalist constitution guarantees to the working class. This is the only kind of freedom that the workers can expect from the capitalist government of the United States. For the Government of the United States is nothing else but a ruthless dictatorship of the rich over the poor. It is in the interest of both the negro and white workers to destroy this capitalist government root and branch.

Shoulder to shoulder and heart to heart the workers of all races must unite in this country to establish a workers' government—the Soviet Republic of America. The Communist Party of America calls upon our colored comrades to organize and with arms in their hands to resist the murderous armed assaults upon their homes, their women and their children. In Russia under the Czar's government the Jews were the victims of race riots and pogroms. In Russia the workers and peasants overthrew the capitalist government of Russia and established a workers' government—the Soviet Republic of Russia. Only by following our Russian comrades' heroic example and by establishing in this country the Soviet Republic of America will white and black workers be able to live and work in peace and enjoy the fruits to their labor.

Hail to the Proletarian Revolution!

In the expectation that the reference herein given will speak for itself, I pass to another sort of manifesto which will not only show the way in which matters which affect our foreign relations are used to sinister ends but will indicate the reactions caused in our foreign population by the policies of the United States. This is headed:

**ANSWER WILSON'S CHALLENGE, WORK-
MEN!**

and purports to come from the United Communist Party of America. It contains among others the following paragraph:

The Government of the United States has taken the leadership of the capitalist forces that are fighting to keep the workers in industrial slavery. It is seeking to unite all the capitalist governments of the world. The declaration of war against the workers' struggle for freedom was made in a note sent to the Italian Government by the Wilson Administration. This note reports the usual lies about the Soviet Russians. The note attacks the Soviet Government as not being Democratic. It is true that the Soviet Government is a dictatorship of the Proletariat, yet a larger part of the population has the right to vote in Russia than in the United States. The Government of the United States which scolds Russia for not being Democratic put four thousand communists under arrest in January of this year. The Government of the United States is not the friend of the workers and peasants of Russia but is the friend of the Russian capitalists, it is the friend of every one who desires to overthrow the Soviet Republic. The Government of the United States is the agent of the powerful capitalist class of this country, the capitalists who are robbing and oppressing you. The capitalists of the United States hate Soviet Russia because it is a threat against the whole system of capitalist exploitation the world over. These capitalists treat Soviet Russia just as they treat you when you go on strike, beat you into submission through the mailed fist of the military machine. They want to shoot and club the workers of Russia who are in revolt against the capitalist system just as they shoot and club you when you strike against low wages and bad working conditions.

After calling attention to the fact that the Italian Government would like to destroy Soviet Russia but does not dare to do so because the workers of Italy threaten it with revolution, and that the English Government would like to go to the aid of Poland but that English workers threaten revolt it asks:

Are the working men of the United States alone to be traitors to the cause of working class freedom—
and continues:

Working men of the United States! It is your task and your duty to break the power of the capitalist government of this country and to prevent it from using its strength to uphold world capitalism against the striking workers of the world—

and asks workers to organize in their shops for common action against the Government. It concludes:

Workingmen of the United States, your freedom as well as the freedom of the workers and the peasants of Russia is at stake. You must align yourself with the workers and peasants of Russia. You must stand shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary workers of all countries in the struggle to overthrow the capitalist government and world capitalism.

So much space has been taken up by examples of the sort of printed material which is being

daily distributed among restless groups in some or many sections of the country that I shall not again refer to the recent communication from the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party in America which has been partially discussed in the chapter upon Incendiary Appeal, and which among other things calls attention to the position of radical labor leaders. Meantime I cannot forbear from noting that this *pronunciamento* marks an element in the Proletariat campaign which is significant, viz.—a disposition to incite the masses against conservative leaders whose integrity and vision lead them to quickly align themselves against the sort of disloyalty which would shatter the opportunity which a free government in America offers to those who toil with their hands. It is a curious fact that this special effort to discredit the men who deserve the confidence of the workers has been coupled with a recognition of the power exercised by the Federation of Labor in this country.

This is also evidenced by the appearance of a circular which purports to come from, but is disclaimed by, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. While using the Union stamp the latter assumes that the revolutionary workers and the labor movement of Europe and America have discredited the President of the American Federation of Labor and others like him who are alleged to be part of the Amsterdam

International. The appeal states that the specter of starvation haunts the entire world, and that the breakdown of capitalism has been accompanied by a savage drive upon the workers by the massed power of the employing class which has declared war on labor. This war, it alleges, rages in all countries, and is followed by the white terror which slays the Hungarian worker, the West Virginia laborer, and the Union men of Spain and Japan. After numerous recitations as to conditions in France, Russia, and other countries, it avows that the fight is international between the Proletariat and capitalism, and that the American worker is faced with war on three fronts; that the latter must prevent the cutting of wages; meet the problem of unemployment; and fight the employers in their open shop campaign. To do this effectively, workingmen must stop quarreling and close their ranks so that they can contend with employers who are united in Chambers of Commerce, Manufacturers' Associations, International Trusts, and Syndicates. It states that the war is world-wide, and that the capitalists are working through the Amsterdam International, a center of world sabotage against Soviet Russia. In the face of such difficulties it calls upon the workers of America to discredit such an organization, to recognize their feeling of close solidarity with Soviet Russia and follow the initiative taken by the Russian trade

unions which founded on July 15, 1920, Red Labor Unions International and the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, which numbers ten million strong.

CHAPTER II

THE WILL TO REVOLUTION

ENOUGH material has been drawn from radical appeal to give the reader an understanding in regard to the mental food which nourishes the masses. Of course it is made up of nonsense and is unfit for human consumption, but the fact does not relieve an embarrassing situation.

One may say—pish and pshaw—characterize incendiary argument as low-brow logic—and become quite impatient with it. All this is justifiable, but it is also inane. It is not here brought forward in order to induce or excite criticism but to stimulate ordinary cerebration.

As yet those who wish to preserve our national standards have not done very much of this. They have listened with rapt attention to masterful deliverances of Americans who foresee impending danger and who ring the changes upon the old adage—that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

They agree with John Adams whose good sense drafted the eighteenth article of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, in his assertion “that a frequent

recurrence to the fundamental principles of the Constitution and a constant adherence to those of piety, justice, moderation, temperance, industry, and frugality are absolutely necessary to preserve the advantages of liberty and to maintain a free government."

They are convinced that the present outrageous political conditions in the United States would never have eventuated if our commercialized public had given such injunctions the sort of heed that ordinary sanity requires—but their intellectual equipment is engaged in finding solutions to personal problems—and they fail to realize that the great mass of the people in the United States to-day know little or nothing of fundamental political principles—that not a word from the utterances of our wisest citizens ever reaches them—and that if it did reach them it would be characterized—high-brow nonsense.

Herein lies a serious danger. If our leaders are too absorbed in other matters to comprehend that the loyalty pabulum which they find thrilling does not feed the multitude—then they fail to grasp the import of such facts and figures as I have submitted. If they do not understand that just as two planes equidistant at all points never meet, so high-brow correctives do not reach the proletariat which looks for nourishment to low-brow propaganda—then they will not turn from the consideration of other matters to trouble themselves with

conclusions as to the effect of such a vicious campaign as the enemies of ordered liberty are conducting in the United States.

It is because I believe that this indisposition to reason much in regard to the effect of revolutionary literature and speech may prove our undoing that I am pointing out a simple and elementary truth, namely—that incitement to revolution creates in those who accept it a *will* to revolution, and am daring the statement that incitement to revolution which has been carried on for many years in the United States is not only producing but has produced a definite *will* to overturn the institutions of the country and sequester the accumulations of thrift.

A free people ought not to need illustrations or overt acts to convince them that incitement to disloyalty will produce defection. If they are reasonably hardheaded they will be quick to reason from cause to effect, and just as quick to provide ways and means of meeting the peril.

Last of all ought the American people (who have an enviable record for quick-wittedness) to require more precedents and examples as to the mischief wrought by treasonable talk than have already been provided by their historical experience. It is a matter of record that before they became a nation they were familiar with such experiences as the revolt of the Pennsylvania line, with Shay's Rebellion, and other similar outbreaks

which were the result of a sinister teaching and disloyal influence. As a Nation they passed through such a baptism of blood when the sentiment in favor of States Rights had crystallized into will, as no other civilized people had experienced.

If any people ought to know that bad philosophy breeds a will to wreck and ruin—it is the American people.

If any people have had an opportunity to see correct reasoning justified by awful events—it is the American people.

Therefore, it may be accounted strange and passing strange that this same American people do not through intellectual processes conclude that there is a *growing will* to destroy their dearest possessions as they become cognizant that a subsidized English language press is openly declaring war against them, and that thousands of different agencies, either temporary or permanent in character, are weekly circulating incendiary matter in various languages among the discontented foreign population.

I do not think I am making too strong a statement when I say that the American electorate has not come to this conclusion. Meanwhile a kindly Providence—probably noting the fact that gainful occupation is absorbing such gray matter as was given the citizenry of the country for primary purposes—is graciously trumpeting extraordinary warnings in their ears, and permitting little dramas

to be enacted in their midst so that they will have small occasion to call the Almighty to account should their neglect hasten the day of disaster.

This sort of visualized and contemporary evidence of a will to overturn the government ought to appeal to a fool, let alone a man of ordinary intelligence who has not time to spare from his business to verify the reports that seditious utterances are common on the platform and in the press or to consider the meaning of such phenomena. One extraordinary warning takes the form of great organized societies, formed for revolutionary purposes, whose subsidiaries are in every part of the land and with certain of which the ordinary citizen must be acquainted. Some of the most important of these, which penetrate every populous state, are the left wing of the Socialist party, the Communist organization, the Communist labor group, the anarchists who have subdivided themselves into anarchist-communist and anarchist-syndicalist sections, revolutionary Industrial Unions, The Industrial Workers of the World, and various international federations of workers and crafts such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

All of these exist in defiance of democracy and for the frank purpose of aiming at its life. They were not formed for the purpose of discussing democracy or for any other purpose than to dismantle the machinery so laboriously set up by the people

of earlier generations. Their object is not to make a better democracy nor to enter into academic discussion as to the shortcomings of democracy, but to do away with democracy, if not with that sort of ordered society which permits reasonable liberty in speech and action.

I do not know why the formation of these organizations does not smack of open treason, nor why the disloyal utterances of various incendiary constitutions should not be regarded as a first step toward levying war against the people of the United States.

A second extraordinary warning takes the form of such collusive demonstrations against the government on the part of hundreds of thousands of a given class in the community as are frequently forced upon the attention of the people.

Without cataloguing these (they have been almost numerous enough to call for such handling) I need only refer to the very recent attempt on the part of the leaders of millions of railway employees constituting a fair percentage of the whole population to thwart the will of the Government. The program for this detestable demonstration set up a super-organization within the state itself. This appears by frank orders which came under the eye of every one who could read and which included:

I—Absolute control of each unit in a mighty federation, the members of which were supposed to regard their allegiance to the Government as of

minor importance to the allegiance they owed their labor chiefs;

2—The distribution of responsibility among section chiefs;

3—Commands which threatened government operation and might have brought disaster to the citizenry;

4—An installation of campaign headquarters authorized to wield power not consonant with the limitations of democracy.

It is not surprising that this astounding exhibition of a will to substitute class authority for the authority of the whole people, working through constitutional channels, secured the attention of Americans generally. A man may refuse to let himself be troubled by the proximity of a club that is whirled about his head, but he is troubled and inconvenienced when the club knocks him down, and there is no doubt but that the Nation felt that it had been hit when it read the *pronunciamentoes* of the railway labor autocracy. The alarming fact, however, is that nothing worth while in the way of blocking such future exhibitions is under consideration. This can be explained only by bad reasoning.

a—Either the whole people felt that the failure to strike indicated some remaining affection for democratic institutions on the part of the rank and file of the affiliated railway groups that had their fingers at the national throat; or—

b—The whole people were satisfied that the roar of protest that they put up when they were hurt was evidence of such infinite resources of patriotic public spirit as would not only take care of present but also of future contingencies.

Now while no one realizes better than I do that there are many fine and loyal characters among the railway men who withstood the call to strike at Mother Country, I suspect that too large a company of the demonstrators voted against a strike because they felt that they would be beaten if such a movement was initiated at that particular time—not because love of homeland was predominant. I also suspect that many of the public who roared with pain when the blow was aimed at the Nation did so because as part of the Nation their particular selfish plans were interfered with—not because they had thought through the significance of a rebellion. One may well have mixed motives when he denounces an act which threatens to tie up the carriers and to make it inexpedient to ship a consignment of goods that ought to return a profit.

Whether the suspicions thus suggested are based on facts will be for others to determine. For present purposes it is sufficient to mark that the will to revolution as expressed by great affiliated bodies of workmen from before the time when Mr. Roosevelt during the tie-up of the coal fields arranged for the mobilizing of the Federal troops, has frequently crystallized into action.

The last form that these extraordinary warnings that the magnanimity of an over-seeing Power has provided for the Nation's instruction are taking, is reaching us through hundreds of inexcusable local revolts against the law of the land that have been launched and nourished by the irreconcilable agitator.

If the reader lives in an industrial section of the country he will not have to go far to get an illustration.

These revolts generally follow an unjustified strike or lockout, and frequently indicate by the swiftness with which they succeed each other, that they are part and parcel of a general revolutionary campaign. Thus far they appear to have been viewed by the employer as annoying attempts to coerce him—by communities as pestilential efforts on the part of lawless people to discredit their good name—and by the Federal Department of Justice as opportunities for rounding up objectional spirits who have been listed for deportation.

They deserve more consideration! Generally it is true that they are sporadic and symptomatic, smacking of broad tides of smouldering human passion as the thin and curling smoke from a volcano indicates wide areas of hidden heat and flame. These have their message. Moreover, they are too often the forethrust of a secret central council which, bent upon levying war, diagrams its campaign as cleverly as did the German War Staff, and

puts out feelers to test the temper of the people and to ascertain whether bad leaven is working.

The demonstrations in the Merrimack Valley and just outside of Greater New York which compelled attention during the general Armistice period is an interesting instance of this strategic work. Bolshevism was dictating to various peoples, and it was desirable to know just how far the proletariat in given American areas would respond to revolutionary appeal—perhaps also to feel the pulse of the disgruntled element in that part of the draft army which had never been called into action.

It is a matter of record that the loyal spirit of the returned soldiers made this foray for information of little account to the mischief-makers. Meantime it developed enough ignorance and ill-will to serve the more sinister purposes of the conspirators.

Another instance which will readily be recalled occurred in the flare up of the Boston Police strike which illustrated the cunning with which the head center of revolution lays its lines. Hardly had the authorities brought themselves in this case to realize that the guardians of the law—an essential part of the self-governing community machinery—had refused to act and were violating their oaths, than they were called upon to meet and disperse a tumultuous rush of disorder that rifled shops far and wide and threw the city into a semi-panic. By happy chance the administrative personnel did not permit itself to be stampeded and acted with a

promptness which the revolutionary element with abundant precedents to judge by had not expected. Therefore, whatever plans had been concocted for the encouragement of a treasonable following failed. Meantime the extraordinary coincidence which staged a mob at the precise moment when the police power appeared to be gagged and bound, suggests with some incisiveness that the same influence which poisoned a great body of once respectable men had appeared to use the event to the advantage of those who recognized no duty to existing society.

Unfortunately enough the Boston Police episode not only displays the cleverness with which revolutionary influences work intensively, but illustrates the masterfulness of their campaigns in *extenso* and their connections with the great radical press which does their bidding. While Massachusetts was congratulating itself on having smothered the embers of what appeared to threaten a conflagration—the foreign population wherever located in the land were being informed that “the streets of Boston are running with the gore of the starving and stirring masses”—and that (as a New York publication put it)—“Scollay Square is stained with human blood. Its first baptism of blood it received the day of the American Revolution—yesterday for a second time they baptized it with human blood under the cracking of machine guns and the frightful yells of the crowd fired upon.

The police of Boston have struck—workingmen are prepared to strike.”

Who doubts but that these lying announcements would have been followed up by other equally reprehensible news items if the Police Commissioner had lost his head, and who doubts but that a chain of disorders would have been inaugurated as a direct consequence.

In taking up *seriatim* as I have certain evidence which indicates a will to revolution, I have refrained from selecting other than a few notable instances of an ugly and subversive spirit among us which is registering the fact that a large proportion of the population are in actual revolt against the Government. It would have been next to impossible to gather an appreciable part of the testimony that is available, and there seems to be no occasion for so doing. If the reader is unconvinced, I suggest that he betake himself to any industrial city or town in the land and mingle with the working people thereof. He will not have long to search before finding individuals who will tell him that they are waiting *der Tag*—the day when they expect to take possession of the factories in which they are employed as well as of all vested interests in that community.

How shall we estimate this will to revolution, and what shall we do? I am expressing my own thought in the closing chapter as to the last proposition. As to the former—How shall we estimate the will

to revolution? I think there is no other reply than this—We ought to accept it at its value, as something concrete that is taking form and that is loaded to the muzzle with danger. “Danger of what?”—does the reader ask? Danger of temporary mob-rule—of the use of devilish means and methods to secure detestable ends—of destruction of property—of loss of life—of excesses in some way (but in a lesser degree), resembling the excesses for which Sovietism is responsible in Russia.

If we are really in danger—and I think we are—it means that these abhorrent conditions may at any time become actual. This should be of real consequence to those who have regard for their church and civic institutions and for their families and homes. It even concerns those who want security in order that they may trade to advantage.

Does it follow that if an enlightened public does not mobilize for security the Red revolutionist will soon be in a position to wreck free institutions? Yes! but not in the way he plans, because the Red revolutionist will be utterly destroyed in the fire which he kindles. He can throw the wrecking bomb that tears him to pieces with his victim, but if any one secures an advantage therefrom it will be the autocrat who always gets into the saddle after every human convulsion and inaugurates measures which not only blot out license but also gag liberty.

I am not afraid of the Red socialist, although I

see little sense in permitting him to brandish his torch, but I do fear the rule of the few which, whether it is inaugurated to discourage disorders before they are well advanced or to bring order out of chaos, comes nearer and nearer to us with the growth of the revolutionary spirit.

CHAPTER III

FINALE

I HAVE been interrupted in the brief summary which I now propose to make of the matter so informally gathered by the visit of an Italian ex-service man who desires friendly counsel in regard to a Fraternal Benefit Association.

As he can speak but little English he has brought an interpreter. The man looks intelligent—he made a fine record on the Italian battle front—and is doing enough civic work without compensation to indicate that he is well-disposed toward the institutions of the country. Meantime I learn that he came to America in 1908, and have asked why he has not learned English. The answer is that he has been more than willing to do so but his continuous work with the cotton mills of an industrial city has brought and kept him in contact with Italians and there has been little occasion for him to mingle with Americans.

I transcribe the incident because just as a gleam of lightning lays bare what has been concealed by the shadows, so it brings into relief the actual

standing of the foreign peoples who, not without invitation, have insinuated and seemed to lose themselves in the Nation's public and private affairs. This man is one of the comparatively small company of aliens who are sufficiently satisfied with existing conditions. He lives in a community and a state which provides educational facilities, and yet although fourteen years have transpired since he first entered an American port, he has failed to find a way by which he can get in touch with the American people. I do not hesitate to affirm that the case fairly represents the condition of the majority of foreigners who have crossed our borders since the opening of the century.

It was a recognition of this, viz.—the intrusion of races untrained in democracy into a democracy that led me as a citizen to make inquiry into the status of the American democracy, and its fitness to solve as difficult a problem as has ever come before a state.

As the reader has noted I find what many sense without effort that political society in the United States is gravely affected by world conditions—that extraordinary and unhappy changes have been wrought in the Nation itself since its beginnings—that a foreign invasion has superimposed elements of strife and discord upon a people which shows signs of decadence and that revolution of some sort is imminent.

These are ugly facts, but twist and turn as I

may they are to be reckoned with. I am neither a pessimist nor prophet of evil—I cling to a faith that, whether it be by weal or woe, man is bound to attain higher standards. Curiously enough—perhaps because I prefer battle for a moral purpose to peace with dishonor, I am inclined to view and have been inclined to view the World War as God's instrument in shaking the nations into a recognition and observance of forgotten duties. This means that I think the United States is stronger, purer, and better than it was in 1915. I recall how Christ made a scourge of small cords and ejected those who were making the Temple at Jerusalem a place for merchandise. The temple must have been a more wholesome place for worship thereafter.

I glory in the greatness of spirit recently revealed by the choice youth of the land in the face of blinding issues. No people I think have ever existed who show greater resources and reserves of power, brain, and wealth.

This is all to the good, but it does not relieve me and it does not relieve other citizens, wiser and better, from frankly facing facts, whether they are pleasant or unpleasant, which an era that compels readjustments, thrusts upon our attention. The political future of the Nation upon which every moral and economic interest rests, is dependent upon the sort of conclusions we arrive at in such times of retrospection, and nothing is surer than that these conclusions will be worthless or danger-

ous if they are not based upon reliable premises, or if we persuade ourselves that existing conditions are figments of the brain and not brutal actualities.

Thus reasoning and endeavoring to honestly use the facts before me I regret to record a conviction that American democracy, as the men of the last generation knew it, can only be preserved by some reform movement so clarifying and titanic as to stagger the imagination. It is obviously not functioning at present, but the machinery so laboriously set up still exists.

I think I know some of the steps that should be taken by those who believe as I do that it is infinitely important that the sort of popular government provided for by the Federal Constitution should be perpetuated, but this is not the season to proffer such suggestions because the men and women whose talents are needed for the planning of a corrective campaign are yet sleeping. Until they are awake it will be the duty of the hour for those who are apprehensive as to what the future has in store for America and civilization to kindle signal fires and pass along a warning outcry. If the fires are bright enough and the shout of warning is coherent, it will stir the citizenry to ask what the flare and noise is all about and to possess themselves of the facts.

Those of us whose egoism leads to fantastic creations outside of the real or the possible will be too self-centered to care whether the old régime

lapses or not. Those who hope by evolution to force the Kingdom of God and to shackle individualism by subjecting the soul that is fitted for leadership to mass control, will not notice that they are hastening decay and revolution, but those who know that freedom provides opportunity both for God and man and who learn of the appalling status will not only join in the cry *en garde*—but will, each in his own place, do whatever he may to block the furious drift which is undermining American institutions.

The corrective task before these is a prodigious one and immeasurably more difficult than that with which the men of 1776 had to do. It is easier to erect a building than it is to shore up an edifice that threatens collapse.

The men of the earlier epoch were homogeneous in racial stock, custom, language, and traditions. They represented the whole citizenry.

They were separated from embarrassing forces and influences.

They were of one mind in a desire to achieve ordered liberty, and they recognized this as the fundamental need of the race—as the avenue which left the individual unfettered in his relation to God and man and also provided opportunity for spiritual and material progress.

They spoke eye to eye and face to face. Their lives were simple and their thinking followed straight lines.

The freedom which they cherished was threatened from without—not from within.

Quite otherwise are the conditions which confront Americans who believe in freedom under the law at the present time.

They belong to a citizenry which is not homogeneous in racial stock, custom, language, and traditions.

The elimination of time and space causes the pulse of the Nation of which they are a part to throb with every impulse that comes from centers of world degeneracy and decay. Meantime their industrial and political plans are modified and shaped to meet the will of an alien invader whose following is too great to be counted and who promises to shortly dictate all their affairs.

Far from being of one mind the citizenry of which old-style Americans are a unit is of a thousand minds, while state education which was designed to make clear the advantages of free institutions and encourage the people to look to men of sound judgment for leadership, has encouraged speculation and is wreathing the banners of captains whose brilliant intellectual qualities are more in evidence than their good sense. A large proportion of this citizenry has been inoculated by the schools with a taste for socialism and a mania for combination. It does not exercise its mind politically but discusses the moral and industrial

measures which chiefly concern it, as if these were the only things that matter. To it the state is apparently something stable and enduring which takes care of itself.

The patriots of this period cannot discuss their common concerns with each other because the language of the country is not a common language—nor is there any chance of communication between them and the shifting foreign population which enfolds their cities. Their lives are complex because of confused conditions about them, and if they still think straight in political matters as did their ancestors, it is not easy to translate thought into action because the legislatures which are presumed to speak their will are too often tools of classes and coteries.

Such freedom as is left to them by the commissions and office holders of a degenerate government is threatened from within by enemies both within and without and takes the form of revolution.

I have recorded my belief that Americans who are loyal to National traditions will not be found unresponsive to the call for duty when they realize the necessity for constructive work. To my mind the mere recitation of the matter contained in the foregoing paragraphs, if it could be brought to their attention, would do something to stir them to action. What the actual things are that they will do when the awakening comes I cannot imag-

ine, although I suspect that the times are so perplexing and the mind of the public so lacking in conviction that it will be impossible to at once create reforms which will revivify democracy. It is not improbable that they will find their first endeavor must be given to blocking the mischievous influences which are everywhere evidenced and which are massing for an attack against ordered society. In this they ought to have the assistance of those who are ambitious for the inauguration of the socialized state, and of the thrifty souls who have listened to strange doctrines through ignorance. Neither of these classes have anything to gain but everything to lose by revolution.

When a hurricane is pushing its thunderheads towards the zenith, and formidable gusts of wind are driving the vessel from its course, it is wise for the shipmaster to concentrate his energies upon keeping his craft afloat and give over the endeavor to reach port. It is also wise for any dissatisfied element in the crew to forget its contentions and become subordinate for the sake of present safety.

It is true that it is not an ambitious program, this standing *en garde*. Nothing strains a soldier's nerve more than the sort of campaign which is directed toward holding the *terrain* that has been acquired. That which is divine in man wishes to press on, and the merely human fails to realize that there may be distinct achievement in retaining a grip upon something precious that is being

torn from its grasp. As a result we grow impatient when the orders come to mark time. There is apt to be loss of morale and perhaps of fighting strength.

Meantime I cannot satisfy myself that there is any other sane course at present for the Constitutionalist to follow than to bend every energy toward preserving ordered society, leaving questions that have to do with the democracy which his fathers knew, or better democracy, to more settled times.

The excesses of the period are leading him to question the responsibility of the body politic in the United States as now constituted, and bringing home to him the fact that Edmund Burke (discredited in these times), George Washington, and John Marshall—men who have never been surpassed in attributes of judgment or in their contributions to the cause of liberty—distrusted the people, although each in his turn endeavored to find ways and means by which the people could be guarded from the consequences of their own act. In vain does he conjure up the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. There is little comfort there. The great American had abundant confidence in an electorate made up of the rugged husbandmen and workers of his period, but there is little evidence that the people whose cause he championed in any way resemble the people who exercise the franchise in the United States to-day, and his spoken and

printed wisdom contains nothing that encourages a belief that he would have consigned rights of incalculable value to the guardianship of whatever human flotsam and jetsam might be brought together by organization.

Nothing in the patriot's own experience justifies a greater confidence in men *en masse* than has been shown by the conservative philosophers of the past. During the last thirty years his fellow-citizens have opened the floodgates to the inrush of alien humanity, alien measures, and alien excesses, and have gazed in ingenuous stupidity at the tide which is now swamping them.

With such evidence before him the believer in American institutions will hardly know how to articulate any appeal to the electorate which has for its object the re-establishment of earlier political standards.

Let us suppose, however, that after consulting the best minds of the past as well as his own experience the citizen is still disposed to have faith in the people and seeks to rally them to the defense of ancient rights and privileges. Will they respond? I do not think so. Some of them believe that our Bills of Rights prattle about principles that have been outgrown by evolution.

Some are too busy to consider anything but business.

Some would substitute a worker's government for a people's government.

Some find it for their interest to manage the people.

Some wish no government of any sort; and

Some—too many—believe that the beneficent system under which we have become the greatest of Nations is the ready tool of industrial and political cliques.

Perhaps I am not making a fair statement. If I am, there is surely little reason for any one to expect that the American people will turn itself into a committee of the whole and give its attention to vital reforms.

What can be done in the alternative? Nothing now I fear but to endeavor to hold fast whatever rights and privileges we still retain. This object can only be secured by calling back to private life the army of office holders who form a large percentage of the population, using the schools to teach democracy instead of sociology, regulating the alien population, and providing a censorship for the non-English press—in short, by doing the obvious things to block revolution, whether it comes by fire or sword, or possibly by the art of the adroit autocrat.

Great as the fathers of this democracy were, it may be that they committed a minor error in failing to recognize the principles which insure perpetuity. If so, this explains the distressing abandonment of its standards by the last generation of Americans. In any event, there is surely occasion

to check a retreat which may, as has been before suggested, involve society.

The cry, therefore, is now a rallying one. If this is heeded and morale is restored, it will not be surprising if Americans find themselves on the eve of another great advance movement that will for the first time in the history of man guarantee ordered liberty to each human being in our chosen Nation. Such an eventuality can only be brought about by at present standing *en garde*.



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